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Published by Sherwood. Jones & Co. Feb 2. 1824.

WOLSEY,

THE

Cardinal,

AND

HIS TIMES;

COURTLY, POLITICAL, AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

BY GEORGE HOWARD, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF LADY JANE GREY, AND HER TIMES.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR SHERWOOD, JONES, AND CO.

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1824.

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PREFACE.
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PREFACE.

The inducement which led to the present publication is so fully detailed in the introductory part of the first section, that little, if any thing, remains to be urged on that subject; the author, however, cannot present his work to the public eye without some observations on what may appear to be chronological discrepancies, as compared with the dates of preceding biographers, sometimes to the extent of a whole year. This requires a slight explanation.

The truth is, that scarcely any two writers agree precisely in the dates, either of events or of public documents, owing to the different modes of chronological notation cotemporary with Wolsey and the earlier annalists. The consequences have, therefore, in many instances, been most unjustly unfavourable to the Cardinal, by

reversing or transposing the order of events, representing his actions as taking place previous to the circumstances which actually led to them, and thereby exposing him to unmerited censure, where a corrected chronology might serve as his justification.

This fact, so fertile in error, was too palpable to escape notice, even in the author's earliest researches, and formed one of the greatest difficulties which he had to contend with in his pursuit of truth —a few instances will be sufficiently illustrative.

Previous to, and during the reign of Henry VIII., it was customary to begin and end the year on Lady-day; but the modern mode of beginning the year on the 1st of January having then been partially adopted, the natural consequence was, that what happened in the months of January, February, and part of March, in any given year, by the first mode, was set down as in the year ensuing by those who adopted the second; so as to render necessary the practice, afterwards so frequent, of dating thus 1520-1, 1526-7, &c.

Then came another class of chronologists, who date by the years of each king's reign; a mode more uncertain even than those previously noted: for though all began the reign with the day which included demise and accession, yet some ended the reigning year, the first being of course a broken one, on the 1st of January, and others on Lady-day; whilst a third class carried on their dates from anniversary to anniversary of the accession.

In regard to foreign dates also, particularly in Italy, even greater discrepancy existed; some historians falling into several of the errors of English chronology, with respect to the *annus Domini*, whilst others dated by the pontificate, beginning that period sometimes from the demise of the preceding pope, at others from the day of election or installation, thus leaving an interregnum between each pope and his successor. But the most extraordinary source of error was in the bureau of the papal secretary of state, where briefs were dated in a year beginning at the Nativity, and bulls at the Incarnation! This *infal-*

lible regulation was not only productive of various mistakes, but was also found very convenient as a means of *mystification*, when his holiness wished to get out of political or ecclesiastical difficulties—of which a remarkable instance is recorded in the body of this work (page 432), wherein Wolsey himself was nearly deceived, and obliged to direct the English embassy to demand a specific explanation.

To regulate and correct these chronological difficulties has been the sedulous pursuit of the author; but as it is possible, though not in any important points, that error may have crept in, he trusts to the candour of the well-informed reader, and of the learned reviewer, if not for absolute excuse, at least for liberal correction.

One word may perhaps be necessary to the heraldic reader, in regard to the difference between the blazonry of the coat of arms on the title-page, as hatched in the vignette, and the written blazonry in the note (page 12), copied from Edmonson. It is possible that the Wolseys of Suffolk may have adopted the Cardinal's coat with

some difference; but the fact is, that the vignette will be seen at once to be good blazon, whilst Edmonson gives an instance of false heraldry, by laying metal on metal, in opposition to every established rule.

London, Dec. 1, 1823.

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WOLSEY,

THE

CARDINAL.

SECTION I.

1471—1500.

Preliminary Observations—Character, as sketched by various Writers—Birth and Family—Early Disposition to Learning—School—College—Youthful Degree, as Bachelor of Arts—Royal Notice—Richard III.—Planning and Erection of Magdalen Tower—Increase of University Honours and Offices—Connexion and Friendship with the early Reformers—First Rise in the Church—Rectory of Lymington—Patronage of the Marquess of Dorset, &c. &c. &c.

To publish a life of Wolsey, at the present day, may seem a work of supererogation; yet for such a life there is still room: we mean a life which shall refer principally to personal biography, to the peculiar customs and manners of the times, and which shall notice general politics, home or foreign, no further than is absolutely necessary to make the personal details intelligible to general readers.

The propriety of thus producing a work strictly biographical may be justified, if it were

necessary, by the strong personal importance which is given to Wolsey by various writers, especially by Wood, who, in his Athenæ Oxonienses, expressly declares that of all the clergymen of his time, as well as before and after him, he was indisputably the greatest. Besides this, he had a vast mind, and a great sense of regulation and glory, which by some is accounted pride. Then his parts, as Wood continues, were prodigious, though it must be owned that he wanted not a sense of his own sufficiency, and therefore his demeanour and management of himself were such as were more fitted to the greatness of his mind and his fortune than to the meanness of his birth.

Wood then observes, that many historians of that period, whether out of envy of his order, or contempt of his birth, or hatred of his religion, have not been very favourable to his fame, and that the traditionary reporters since, who have pretended to an exact account of his actions, have, upon too slight inquiries, and with too great confidence, transcribed the former narratives; so that, adds he, "we yet want an exact and faithful history of the greatest, most noble, and most disinterested clergyman of that age."

That Wood's testimony, so far, in his favour, was impartial, there can be no reason to doubt; and we are therefore the more inclined to pay some deference to the evidence, or rather opinion,

of one who stands forward confessedly not only as his vindicator, but also as his panegyrist. This writer *, whose work appeared early in the last century, observes that there are few persons, if any, to whom the world has been under obligation, that have met with so much ingratitude as has fallen upon Wolsey and his memory; and he seems to think it doubtful whether, in all the histories extant in his time, a similar instance can be found, in any nation, of so general a prejudice as that under which the Cardinal's name has suffered.

The cause of this he considers to have been, that Wolsey had the misfortune to disoblige, or rather highly to provoke, the two contending parties into which, during the latter part of his political power, the whole kingdom was divided. The consequence he thinks to have been, that contemporary and subsequent historians have thence been induced to hand down his memory to posterity with equal rancour, and equal bigotry to the party which they espoused: those of the Roman Catholic persuasion generally hating him for the active part which he took in the divorce of Queen Katharine, which led to a protestant marriage, their clergy, at the same time, both secular and monastic, being irritated at his attempts to reform and to regulate ecclesiastical manners; whilst the Protestants, or Reformed of

* See Fiddes' Life of Wolsey. Introduction, p. 11.

that day, detested him for his rigid adherence to the doctrine and communion of the Papal See, and for his opposition to Lutheranism, both in England and in Germany.

This is evidently correct in regard to contemporary historians; and at once explains why there is or has been no public character respecting whom, perhaps, both in past and present times, there has been, and is, such difference of opinion. But if Cavendish, his confidential friend, the old chroniclers and other contemporaries have been either his panegyrists or accusers, it is curious to observe the same in regard to later writers, among whom we may class Knight, Fiddes, and others, with the exception of Groves, who wrote about the middle of the last century, and is evidently impartial. The same meed of impartiality we must also grant to a more recent biographer*; but whose short memoir, written rather as a specimen of historical elegance than as a complete biography, does not interfere with the copious and anecdotical plan of the following work. For ourselves, we shall endeavour, in a strict search after truth, to preserve the purest impartiality; though we must confess that the weight of evidence, as taken in a general course of research, both in print and in MSS. preponderates more against the Cardinal than in his favour.

* Galt's Wolsey.

The anonymous writer of the More MSS., in the Lambeth library, describes Wolsey as one who, though he had some good parts and gifts in him, yet he was of so aspiring and ambitious a nature, fraught with the fruits of pride, disdain, and revenge, that well had it been with him if never he had been born a man; for, by these detestable vices, says the biographer, he threw himself headlong into utter ruin and shame; corrupted his prince with enormous vices; caused the death of many good men; opened the gate to foul and hideous heresy and schism; with which sin poor England was most lamentably overwhelmed. The same writer adds, however, that all this, though not intended by him, yet originally sprang of his wicked and cursed ambition.

The character drawn of him by Lord Herbert* was rather less violent, where he states that "His maner was so cunninglie to disoblige that Prince, who did fee him last, as he made way oftentimes thereby to receive as much on ye other side.

"It becometh Princes," adds his Lordship, "to do like good husbandmen when y^t ye sow their grounds; wch is to scatter y^r seeds, not to throw all on one side;" and he then goes on to state that Wolsey "was no great dissembler, for so qualifyed a p'son, as ordering his businesses (for

* Brit. Mus., Ays. Coll., 1523, p. 40.

the most part) so cautiously, as hee gott more by keeping his word, than by breaking it."

These certainly are harsh opinions; but it must not be denied that even Cavendish, his intimate and earliest biographer, acknowledges that the Cardinal was, in his time, the proudest man living, having more regard to the honour of his person than to his spiritual function, wherein he should have expressed more meekness and humility.

But it was past the meridian of life when Cavendish first became a confidential member of his household, in the office of gentleman usher, and it is not surprising that the Cardinal should then, even from habit alone, have displayed pride and *hauteur* both in his manners and sentiments. His life had then been passed more in courts than in cloisters, and Nature herself seems to have gifted him with a quality useful to the ambitious, as leading to the favour and even to the esteem of monarchs and ministers: this was an easy and self-existing dignity of manner and of expression, which art can never successfully imitate, and which cannot be perfectly formed on rules or modes of practice. This has been well called his "natural prerogative," and one of the superior distinctions in his character, so far as we are now able to judge of his manner, justified, as it appears to be, by the extraordinary facility with which he was able to execute most of his designs, even of the

highest political importance: at the same time it is not surprising that his superiority in these affairs, both at home and abroad, may have afforded the real occasion for that common prejudice, still so general, that he was naturally proud, insolent, and overbearing.

This has been judiciously observed by Fiddes, who also urges his learning, superior to most individuals of his time, as an excuse or palliative for his apparent claims of predominance, both in church and state, in addition to the immense power and influence which he virtually possessed, not only from his ministerial office and the king's favour, but also from his legantine powers added to the Cardinalate.

With a share of erudition fully competent to qualify him for the just and honourable discharge of his high offices and commissions of diplomacy, he had also the merit of being the declared and the active patron of learning, as he would also have been of the learned to a much greater extent than he had an opportunity of manifesting; for the learned of his day were, for the most part, friends or favourers of the reformed system of Christianity then beginning to spread itself; but to that system his own personal interests and policy made him inimical.

His moderation, too, especially in regard to his ecclesiastical power, must not be forgotten; for, with the exception of his rapid patronage of one

individual, thence supposed to have been his illegitimate offspring, he appears not to have appropriated any part of the revenues of his great preferments in the church towards the aggrandizement of his own private family, but to have expended them either in the forms of his high state, in the hospitalities of an immense household establishment, or in the foundation of seminaries of learning, which still reflect honour on his memory.

Even our great poet of nature, though the purport of his Henry VIII. was to celebrate the character of Anne Boleyn, the mother of his royal patroness, does justice to his fame when he makes Griffith say to the repudiated Queen Katharine:

> "This Cardinal,
> Though from an humble stock, undoubtedly
> Was fashion'd to much honour. From his cradle,
> He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one;
> Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading:
> Lofty, and sour, to them that loved him not;
> But, to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.
> And though he were unsatisfied in getting
> (Which was a sin), yet in bestowing, madam,
> He was most princely: Ever witness for him
> Those twins of learning, that he raised in you,
> Ipswich and Oxford! one of which fell with him,
> Unwilling to outlive the good that did it;
> The other, though unfinish'd, yet so famous,
> So excellent in art, and still so rising,
> That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue."

To sum up all, in a few words, in order to ap-

preciate Wolsey's character fairly, we must carefully observe his actions and, without prejudice, endeavour to investigate his motives, at a period of English, and indeed of European, history, remarkable for great and extraordinary events; events new in themselves, in their nature, and in their very principles, so as to bid defiance to all reasoning, or acting upon former precedents. Then truly to form an accurate judgment of his deep-laid political schemes, and of his penetrating genius, we must not try him by a modern political touchstone, but by a close investigation of the people around him, of affairs both domestic and foreign,—nay, perhaps, even of the very imperfect state of Christian morality at that period, arising from the prevalence of superstition and ignorance over the true religion, and the marked laxity of religious duties permitted to churchmen, especially of the higher orders.

These considerations shall be developed and illustrated in the ensuing sheets of our biography; and it only remains for us to notice that the Cardinal was in person tall and comely, and very graceful in his carriage; with the single defect of having his right eye blemished by disease, from circumstances supposed not very creditable to him, and from whence his portraits *, as well as his

* Of these portraits the two most authentic are in the College of Physicians, London, and at Christ Church, Oxford; but the latter is supposed by Dallaway not to be a production of Holbein's pencil, though generally stated to be so.

statue over Christ Church portal, Oxford, are all represented in profile. Such is the introductory sketch we have to offer of one whose life was so remarkable and eventful, as even to have become a proverb in the mouths of all those who would exemplify the instability of human grandeur, and the uncertainty of courtly favour.

THOMAS WOLSEY, born 1471, is generally represented by our best historians to have been descended from poor but honest parents, and of good reputation, resident at Ipswich, in Suffolk, where the common tradition is, that his father was a butcher. His biographer, Fiddes, is unwilling to give credit to this tradition, principally on the grounds that, as shall be further illustrated in its place, his father died seised of an estate which, in the possession of a plebeian, was at that time very considerable; that he held several lands and tenements by a tenure which gave him a discretionary power in disposing of them; and, finally, that he made certain pecuniary bequests to his family and friends of no small value, according to the proportion which money then bore to the present rate and affluence of it.

If the Cardinal's father really were a butcher, he seems as careful to conceal the secret, as the most biassed of his biographers can be; for Cavendish, who professes to have drawn up the early part of his Memoir from Wolsey's own mouth,

merely observes, that he was "an honest poor man's son of Ipswich." But Campion decidedly denies the allegation, calling him "a man undoubtedly born to honour; some prince's bastard, no butcher's son:" whilst an old poet of that day, with rather more delicacy, thus expresses himself:

> "Great Priest! whoever was thy sire by kind,
> Wolsey of Ipswich ne'er begot thy mind."

Newcomb, indeed, in his Repertorium *, asserts that he was not the son of a butcher, though without offering any grounds for that assertion; whilst we have the later evidence of Groves, that, upon a new and strict inquiry, several gentlemen in Suffolk are of opinion, that the Cardinal's father was in truth a respectable grazier in the town of Ipswich, and not a poor butcher.

Fuller is the first writer that mentions particularly this now controverted circumstance; and Fiddes further urges, that this story, most probably, had no other foundation, either in books or in early tradition, than a wretched figure over one of the windows in the front of Christ Church, directly above the Cardinal's arms, of a dog gnawing a bone, but not the spade bone of a shoulder of mutton, as it is generally described: whilst he adds, that the figure seems to be placed there by mere accident, there being upon the same

* Vol. i. page 100, note d.

line with it several other "antics," at proper distances, intended, according to the architecture of the time, for the greater decoration of the building.

After all, we may close with an observation of La Bruyere, that there have appeared in the world, from time to time, some admirable, extraordinary men, whose virtue and eminent qualities have cast a prodigious lustre, like those unusual stars in the heavens, the causes of which we are ignorant of, and know as little what becomes of them after they disappear. *These men neither have ancestors nor posterity. They alone compose their whole race.*

So, far, however, we do know that his father's name was Robert, and that of his mother Jane, or Joan, as appears by the Pope's Bull *, of favours to all those who should come to Cardinal Coll. Oxon. (now Christ Church), and there pray for the safety of Wolsey; and, after his decease, for the souls of him, his father Robert, and his mother Joan †.

* Rymer's Fœd. xiv. 255.

† In the vignette on the title-page, we have given a reduced fac-simile of Wolsey's coat of arms, from a MS. bearing the date of 1563, and now No. 1197, (p. 402) in the Harleian Collection at the British Museum "Encomium in laudem Reverendissimi in nomine Patris et Domini, Domini Thomæ miseratione divina tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ, sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, presbyteri Cardinalis Eboracen." Auctore Joanne Hossio. Leodense. A coat of the very same kind is blazoned by Edmonson, in his 2d volume of Heraldry, and

We shall just further mention, that it appears from Kirby's Suffolk Traveller, that in 1514, Edmund Daundy, portman of Ipswich, founded a chantry in the church of St. Lawrence, for a secular priest to offer at the altar of St. Thomas, on behalf of himself and his relatives; amongst whom he reckoned Wolsey, who was then Dean of Lincoln, also Wolsey's parents, Robert and Jane, then deceased. This is particularly urged in favour of the Cardinal's descent being rather better than his enemies were disposed to allow; and in support of that conclusion, Kirby farther states that Daundy first built the market cross, and was one of the most respectable men of the town in his time: all his daughters married gentlemen of good fortune; and the issue of one of them was the wife of Lord Keeper Bacon. Kirby concludes from this, that it is clear that the Cardinal was well allied; and he argues, that as we meet with nothing that gives the least countenance to the common notion of his being the son of a butcher, it is very probable that

attributed to Woolsey, Suffolk.—Sable, on a cross engrailed argent, a lion passant gardant gules, crowned or, between four leopards' faces azure. On a chief of the second, a rose of the third, between two Cornish choughs proper.—Crest, a naked arm embowed, grasping a shin bone, all proper.

This sets at nought a silly coat engraved on wood, in the first edition of Roy's Satire, which professes, in direct opposition to all good heraldry, to be quarterly, 1st and 4th, sable, three bulls' heads; 2d and 3d, three bloody axes, in a bloody field; over all, in a 'scutcheon, of pretence, a ban dog collared and muzzled.—Crest, a Cardinal's hat.

his parents were not in such mean circumstances as the Cardinal's enemies have taught the world to believe.

He also alludes to a vulgar notion, perhaps still in existence, that Wolsey built the shambles in the market square; but in opposition to this, he states, that these shambles were rebuilt, or at least very thoroughly repaired, in the 40th of Elizabeth, which could not have been necessary had they been built by Wolsey such a short time before.

In St. Nicholas' church there were three brass inscriptions taken up by the visitors in 1648; a circumstance which Kirby regrets, from an idea that they might have afforded some hints as to Wolsey's family, especially as it was the family church, in whose immediate vicinity stood the house in which tradition says the Cardinal was born; a supposition not improbable, when we consider that his father left money for the high altar there, as well as for the painting of the archangel.

But setting all conjecture aside, we shall observe, that the house in which he was born was, and indeed is, on the south side of a passage leading from St. Nicholas'-street to St. Nicholas' churchyard. Its front has been rebuilt; but local antiquaries are of opinion, that the rear may be contemporary with the birth of Wolsey, which took place in March, 1471 *, the 12th year of the

* The day of the month is not known. Parish registers did not come into use until 1535.

reign of Edward IV. and more particularly memorable as being the year in which the art of printing was introduced into England.

Of Wolsey's earliest years very little is known. His own statement, as delivered to Cavendish, was, that "being but a child he was very apt to be learned; wherefore, by the means of his parents, or of his good friends and masters, he was conveyed to the University of Oxford." This is evidently as much as the Cardinal himself wished to be known; but it is not a little curious that Groves, who otherwise opposes the reports as to the very humble situation of his family, corroborates these very reports in giving praise to his father, whom he describes as highly commendable for encouraging his son's inclination for learning, by sending him to school, instead of putting him to a mean trade; the latter "being the most natural to be expected from a person in so low a situation."

What school he was first educated at is, however, unknown. Even Fiddes, his professed vindicator and advocate, goes no further than conjecture, merely stating that Wolsey early discovered a docile and apt disposition for learning, which encouraged his parents to send him to school, and to give him such an education, *if we may judge of their design in it by the event*, as might prepare him for the University.

Fiddes also argues against the correctness of Cavendish's insinuation, or rather assertion, that

he was sent to Oxford at the expense of friends, and not at the proper and sole expense of his father; urging that it appears from his father's will, there was no necessity for such a measure: but as Cavendish professes to have received his information on that head from Wolsey himself, we may allow his statement to pass in preference to conjectural deduction.

We cannot find any record of the precise year of his entrance at Magdalen College, Oxford, which had been selected for his university studies, nor does any reason appear why that particular college was chosen; but as he is expressly stated to have taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts at the very precocious age of fourteen, the date of his graduation being thus fixed at the year 1485, we cannot well allow him less than two years previous study, which will place his entrance at the university in 1483.

It was in that memorable year that Edward IV. died, "leaving this world" for Richard "to bustle in;" the murder of the royal brothers, and the usurpation of the crook-backed tyrant, all taking place within the same year.

If any of our readers should think two years too short a period to allow previous to graduation, we must remind them that the circle of sciences in the universities of that day was of much smaller diameter than at present, even without taking Wolsey's extraordinary capacity and dili-

gence into the account; for it was not until the very period in question, that Greek had even become an object of study. In fact, it was then called the new language, and its study totally disapproved of by the heads of colleges; so that there were only a few of the reformed who patronised it, in spite of opposition, and who, no doubt, had their ranks considerably increased by the new lights which it threw upon the Christian dispensation.

Though Wolsey did not take his degree until 1485, his extraordinary abilities must have previously made him an object of attention; and we might even hazard a conjecture, that at that early period of life he had begun to attract royal notice: for it is upon record, that the learned Grocyn was chosen divinity reader of Magdalen College in 1484, or thereabouts; in which year Richard III., in one of his progresses, stopped for some time at Oxford, taking up his residence at Magdalen, and feeling delighted at hearing Grocyn and others engaged in public and private disputation. The subjects of disputation are not preserved, but we may suppose them to have turned upon the "new language," and its new discoveries; and even that the youthful aspirant after ecclesiastical dignities, though then but a student, must have been brought forward in the royal presence, not only from his general character for precocious learning, but also through the friendship of Grocyn, with whom he

was then, and for some years afterwards, in habits of intimacy; until he found that the new doctrines, if permitted to increase, must strike at the very root of his priestly and papal ambition.

That Wolsey was then really fitted for public disputation, is evident from the fact, that very soon after his entrance at College, he was distinguished at Magdalen, and indeed throughout the University, for the extraordinary progress he had made in logic and philosophy; and that he was, even then, as remarkable for his learning in divinity, which he principally acquired by an early reading of the works of Thomas Aquinas.

We have already fixed, and upon fair calculation, the year of his first degree at 1485; on which subject, and his progress at College, Cavendish observes, "where he so prospered shortly in learning, that (as he told me by his own mouth) he was made Batchelor of Arts when he past not fifteen years of his age; he was called most commonly through the University the Boy Batchelor;" a precocity of University honours, in which he was never equalled but by Cardinal Pole.

It was in the same year that Richard fell at Bosworth, so that Henry VII. succeeded to the throne of England, giving tranquillity to the kingdom, and ensuring a safer protection to the seats of learning. Under such happy auspices, Wolsey pursued his studies with redoubled assiduity, par-

ticularly aided by his friend Grocyn; an advantage, however, of which he was deprived in 1488, by the departure of that learned Hellenist for Germany. Grocyn indeed returned to Oxford in 1491, but then he took up his residence at Exeter College, where he taught the Greek tongue; and some years afterwards, as we shall have occasion to notice, became the tutor of the far-famed Erasmus.

Though no precise date can now be traced, we have reason to believe that Wolsey graduated Master of Arts previous to Grocyn's return; or at least in this year (1491), a year likewise remarkable for the birth of his future royal patron, Henry VIII.; as was the ensuing one, for an event which produced an extraordinary change in the affairs of Europe—the discovery of the western hemisphere by Columbus.

Soon after graduating Master of Arts, and being chosen one of the fellows of Magdalen College, Wolsey was selected as the fittest person to take charge of the school connected with that establishment; an office which he filled for some time with great credit to himself, and great advantage to his pupils: but it was not to the mere *learning of the schools* that he now confined his talents, for the fine arts appear to have engaged much of his attention.

Dallaway observes, that it is generally understood that in this year, 1492, the finely propor-

tioned tower of Magdalen College * was planned by the aspiring genius of Wolsey; and he adds, that it was his first essay in a science which he well understood, and practised with extraordinary magnificence. But whether the original plan was really Wolsey's, seems rather a matter of doubt. The foundation stone was certainly laid on the 9th August, 1492; and it is possible that the bursar of the College in that year, who was the active manager in that business, may have availed himself of Wolsey's architectural skill in preparing a plan for its erection: but it is equally possible that the common opinion or tradition on this subject may have arisen solely from his being bursar at the period of its completion in 1498, six years afterwards, when he may have done so much towards its embellishment, as to have the plan attributed generally to him.

Wolsey himself seems not to have taken much pride in his University honours, at least in later days; for all that he enabled Cavendish to say of him was, that "thus prospering and increasing in learning, he was made felowe of Maudelin College, and after elected or appointed to be schole-master of Maudelin Schola:" and it is curious that he did not even acquaint that confidential friend with the date of his taking orders for the priesthood.

* It is 122 feet in height, and 26 in diameter; and occupied six years in building.

Though unable to assign the date of his entrance on the clerical functions, we may clearly ascertain from his father's will *, which is dated

* It is noticed by Fiddes, that in the original will, a copy of which we here insert, the name is written Wuley, and he takes occasion thence to observe, that from this variation in the spelling, some persons may object that, notwithstanding the concurrence of other circumstances, which render it highly probable that this was the will of the Cardinal's father; yet, after all, it might be the will of some other person. But he adds, that on this point it will be sufficient to remark, that in two authentic instruments directed to him from Rome at different times, his name is exactly written as in the will; which documents he refers to in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 183, whilst he was rector of Lymington, addressed to him by Pope Alexander, and afterwards by Pope Julius II. in a dispensation to hold a third living.—Rymer, xiii. p. 217. The will runs thus:

"In Dei nomine, amen, the xxxi day of the month of September, the year of our Lord god a m. C.C.C.C.lxxxxvi. I Robert Wuley of Ippyswiche, hooll of mend, and in good memory beying, make my testament and my last wyll in this maid wyse. First I bequeath my Soull to almyghty God our Lady Sent Mary and to all the company of hevyn, and my body to be buryed in the churchyard of our Lady Sent Mary of Neumket. Also I bequeath to the hey auter of the Pariche of sent Nicholas of Ippyswiche vi*s*. viii*d*. also I bequeath to the penting of the archangel there xl*s*.

"Item, I wyll that if Thomas my Son be a preist within a year next after my decesse, I will that he syng for me and my frends by the space of a yer, and he to have for his salary ten marks; and if the seyd Thomas, my Son, be not a preist, I will that another honest preist syng for me and my frends for the term aforesaid, and he to have the salary of ten marks.

the 31st of September, 1496, that up to that period he had not arrived at priest's orders, though he was then near twenty-five years of age; but that he was intended for the church, both by his own wishes, and the desire of his parents and friends, is sufficiently evident. From the probate annexed to the will, as in the note below, and dated 11th of October in the same year, we may infer that it was a death-bed will, and that Wolsey lost his father this year early in that month; but how long his mother survived is not upon record. Nor does it appear from the tenor of the mortuary instrument, that his inheritance was to any amount; his mother being left in possession of all the landed

"Item, I wyll that Joan my wyfe have all my lands and tenements in the parishe of St. Nicholas, in Ippyswiche, aforesaid, and all my free and bond lands in the Psiche of St. Stoke to give and to sell. The residue of my goods, not bequeathed, I give and bequeath to the good disposition of Joan my wife, Thomas my Son, and Thomas Cady, who I order and make my executors, to dispose for me as they shal think best to ples almyghty God and p'fyt for my soul, and of this my testament and last wyll I order and make Richard Farrington supervisor, and he for to have for his labour xiii*s*. iiii*d*. and yf the seyd Richard deserve more, he for to have more of Joan my wyf. Item, I bequ. to the said Thomas Cady my Executor aforeseyd, xiii*s*. iiii*d*. yevyn the day yar and place above uretyn."

"Probatum fuit presens Testamentum apud Gipwic, coram nobis Offic. Cons. Dm. Epi. Norwic. xi die mensis Octobris, Anno Dm. millimo cccmclxxxxvi."

property, with power also to alienate it, whilst even the chattels seem rather intended for the good of the father's soul than for the worldly welfare of the son.

It appears, at this time, to have been customary for the young nobility, not only to attend the University, as at present, but also to receive their early education at the schools; a practice which first opened to Wolsey the door of patronage, for Cavendish, speaking of the year 1497, says, "at which time the Lorde Marquis Dorset now had three of his sonnes there to schoole, committing as well unto him their education as their instruction and learning."

But Wolsey's strict attention to his duties did not prevent him from forming several friendships, amongst which we may enumerate Mr., afterwards Sir Thomas More, John Clarymond, afterwards President of Magdalen College, Thomas Halsey, afterwards a Bishop, and though last not least, the learned Erasmus, who first came to Oxford in the year now under consideration. This latter friendship was highly honourable to Wolsey's personal character; for it is upon record that there existed between him and Erasmus a mutual respect and union of sentiment in all matters where literature was concerned. They joined cordially in promoting classical studies, which were peculiarly obnoxious to the bigotry of that period; they were both great friends of the "new learning,"

as it was called, or the study of the Greek language; and their love of learning and contempt for the monks were points of unity between them. In short, Erasmus certainly conceived a very high opinion of Wolsey, and said many things in his favour; but he has been reported to have changed his mind afterwards: nor is it surprising this should have been the case, when we consider there is every reason to believe that Wolsey was on very good terms with, and even in confidence with the early reformers; indeed he even declared himself that he would reform the church, but then he could not destroy papacy in England, as the reformers wished, except in his own despite, because that way lay his ambition—an ambition which lurked early in his bosom for the papal tiara! *

Notwithstanding this intimacy with the reformists, Wolsey's influence at college does not seem to have been at all on the decline; for it appears that in 1498 he was chosen bursar, and in that capacity put the finishing hand to the great tower of Magdalen, still in its primitive state, and a standing memorial of the delicacy of his taste in that branch of Gothic architecture.

* Had Wolsey succeeded in his views, he would have been the second Englishman that sat in the papal chair.

Truth here obliges us to confess that there are some college traditions on this subject not very favourable to Wolsey's character. It is said, that during his execution of the office of bursar or treasurer, he involved himself improperly in some difficulties as to his accounts, which obliged him, for a time at least, to retire from Magdalen into the country. Another tradition, milder in its charges, states that it was not on account of any private personal misconduct on his part that this retirement took place, but solely from his having

appropriated the funds in the treasury chest towards the erection of that noble tower, without sufficient warrant from those who had the control of expenditure; whilst a third party assert that so resolved was he on the completion of this, his favourite object, that he actually had recourse to violent methods to furnish himself with supplies from the treasury for that purpose. But there is no ground for these surmises, beyond mere tradition: and, as the charges do not appear to have been noticed by his numerous enemies in his lifetime, we may naturally conclude that there never was any real foundation for them, beyond perhaps, his overbearing conduct towards those whose duty it was to control the college expenses, and who may have been unwilling to sanction that rapid expenditure which Wolsey wished for, in order to ensure to himself the honour of completing that elegant specimen of ecclesiastical magnificence.

Indeed there are many other reasons why little credit should be given to the story; especially when we recollect that Wolsey had already formed those ambitious views which were the load-star of his future life, and that he therefore would be cautious in regard to proceedings which might have blasted all his hopes, even in their very infancy, and which would have been a perpetual bar to all future promotion or preferment: and, at least, we may agree with his vindicator, Fiddes, that there is more candour in considering the

noble structure of Magdalen tower as an early essay of Wolsey's great and enterprising mind, than as an occasion of his perpetrating a scandalous crime, for which there is no good, or competent proof.

Independent of all this, the events now crowding upon us show how little probability there can be in such a story, inasmuch as it must have put a stop, for the time at least, to his scholastic labours, and perhaps separated his pupils—a circumstance which succeeding facts clearly show could not have happened: since it is well known that Wolsey's prudence and industry in the management of the school of Magdalen were the first steps to his rise in the church, through the friendship and grateful kindness of the Marquess of Dorset; for that nobleman having sent for his sons, at Christmas in 1499, to his mansion in Leicestershire, transmitted an invitation also to Wolsey to accompany them. Soon after their arrival, and when the novelty of field sports and amusements was a little worn off, the marquess, who was not only a good scholar, but a man of the world, took opportunities of examining the youths individually in regard to their progress in learning; with which he was very well satisfied, and convinced also that such a progress could only have been made through the extreme diligence and attention of their tutor. For this he was anxious to bestow some mark of grateful remuneration upon Wolsey; and it hap-

pening at the moment that the incumbent of Lymington in Somersetshire (John Borde) had departed this life, the marquess, who was patron of the living, instantly presented it to his new friend, who, after the holidays, returned to Oxford, with the presentation in his pocket. On his arrival at the university in January, 1500, the new churchman seems, by the account of his friend Cavendish, to have made great haste to take possession of his living, for he instantly waited on the ordinary, for the purpose of being instituted to the rectory; and then, being provided with all the necessary papers from the ordinary's office, he set off for Somersetshire, and, carefully avoiding all delay, he sat down quietly in the enjoyment of his benefice *.

* Some writers have confounded this with Lymington, in Hampshire; but circumstances contradict that, for it was the property of the noble family of De Redvers, until Edward III. seized it, or rather forced the heiress, Isabel de Fortibus, to make it over to the Crown upon her death-bed, for a very inadequate consideration. A few years after this unjust seizure, however, it was restored to the Courtenays, Earls of Devonshire, and heirs of De Redvers, with whom it remained until 29th of Henry VIII. 1538, eight years after Wolsey's decease: so that it could never have been in the presentation of the Dorset family.

The real parish is called Limmington, in the Index Villaris, and is in the Hundred of Stone and Yeovil, in Somersetshire; but even here we find some little difficulty as to the right of presentation, for Collinson, in his history of the county, says that Limmington belonged to the Bonvilles from temp. Henry IV. until the 6th of Elizabeth, when it came to the Mar-

Whilst resident at Lymington, Wolsey faithfully and fairly performed all the duties of a parish priest; officiating duly in his cure, and repairing and beautifying the parsonage house; where, even as late as the middle of the last century, were remaining tokens of his works, especially his initials in some of the windows. Collinson also records that there is yet to be seen his cypher on the pannel of an ancient pew in the chancel of the parish church. His general conduct indeed, whilst in possession of this his first preferment, gave a fair promise of his judicious proceedings in the appropriation of his church revenues, not towards the aggrandisement of his own family, but really for the benefit of the church, as far as his own immediate wants would permit him.

Yet, his moral conduct, we fear, was far from being so circumspect or so irreproachable as it ought to have been; for, at this very period, he must have been engaged in that intrigue which gave birth to an illegitimate son, known afterwards by the name of Thomas Winter, upon whom he heaped ecclesiastical preferments, even so far as an archdeaconry, to the great scandal and complaint of the more rigid, or more hypocritical part of the priesthood. But in a religion which professes to enforce celibacy on its clergymen, and

quess of Dorset. But Thomas, first Marquess, married to his second wife, Cicely, daughter and heiress of Lord Bonville and Harrington.

clergywomen, too, as Corporal Trim called them, little better can be expected: since, however plausible the arguments in favour of clerical celibacy, we can find opposite ones, and irresistible too, in the practice of our own protestant priesthood, and indeed in a reference to the general principles of human nature.

SECTION II.

1501—1508.

Conduct of Wolsey as a Parish Priest—Extraordinary Anecdote—Death of his Patron Dorset—Becomes Chaplain to Archbishop of Canterbury—also to Sir John Nanfan—Patronized by Henry VII. and appointed a Royal Chaplain—Sketch of European Politics at that Period—Courtly Intrigues—Personal Conduct, and early Ambition—Diplomatic Skill, Embassy to the Emperor, and rapid Rise in Royal Favour—Ecclesiastical Intrigues, &c. &c. &c.

At the close of the preceding section, we have noticed an anecdote of Wolsey, for the truth of which we cannot vouch, though still believing it to rest on indubitable authority; but an event of a more public nature took place at this period, which may be considered as by no means favourable to his private character. On this subject Cavendish briefly states that Wolsey had not been long at Lymington, when Sir James (Amyas) Paulet, who lived in that neighbourhood "tooke an occasion of displeasure against him, but upon what grounds I knowe not; insomuch that Sir James* was so bold as to set the *Schoolmaster*

* This was Sir Amyas Paulet, of Hinton St. George, Somerset, ancestor of the Earls of Poulet. He had been knighted for his gallant conduct at the battle of Newark upon Trent,

by the heeles during his displeasure; which affront was afterwards neither forgotten nor forgiven,"—as we shall have occasion to notice when we record Wolsey's elevation to the chancellorship.

Of this untoward affair, Fiddes, his decided advocate, merely states that Paulet put an affront upon him, very unsuitable to his character, as a scholar, and a priest, who had in those parts a proper and settled cure of souls. Fiddes further states that what his real or pretended crime was, upon which Sir Amyas committed him to the stocks, none of the authors whom he had consulted had related. He hints, indeed, that this disgrace was a mere arbitrary effect of some personal prejudice which that Knight had to Wolsey or to his priestly office; but he certainly comes nearer to the mark when he acknowledges that there is a traditionary report that the affair arose out of a drunken frolic in which Wolsey had indiscreetly engaged at some rustic festival. Yet,

early in the reign of Henry VII. when Simnel's rebellion was put down, and he had also a command during Warbeck's affair, being soon after made one of the Knights of the King's body; yet notwithstanding his favour with Henry, Wolsey contrived, during the reign of his son, to find full gratification of revenge. We see, as in the text above, that Cavendish speaks of Wolsey being still a schoolmaster; and it is curious that Collins in his peerage (vide Art. Poulett) also describes him as being then only a schoolmaster at Lymington.

observing further upon it, this advocate certainly endeavours to make the best of it, when, alluding to the subsequent revenge of Wolsey, though he owns that some have thought that a Chancellor of England, an Archbishop of York, and a Cardinal, ought to have forgotten an injury, though of a most provoking nature, done many years before, to a private parish-priest, and that there can be no doubt, had the injury been merely personal, then it would have been more becoming a great and generous mind to have buried it in oblivion: but then, he throws in that the Cardinal, perhaps, thought the order itself suffered by an outrage attended with the last consequences of infamy; and so it might appear to him not altogether so improper or unreasonable that some animadversion should be made upon it. Fiddes, indeed, acknowledges that the punishment was more than commensurable to the offence; but, for our part, we cannot help thinking, that, if Wolsey had felt himself right, he would not have waited for redress until he could obtain it by his own arbitrary power.

The only author we have seen who attempts to account candidly and fairly for this affair of the stocks, is Groves, who wrote about the middle of the last century, drawing, however, some of his facts from Fiddes: and he speaks of Wolsey as being remarkable for a free and sociable temper, and fond of living in a friendly and open commu-

nication with his parishioners and neighbours. He adds, but upon what authority we know not, except the tradition which Fiddes mentions, that he once went with some of these to a fair in an adjacent town, where he drank to excess, and subsequently created some disorder. Paulet is supposed either to have been present at the same, or to have heard of it afterwards; and for that excess was it that he inflicted such an indignity upon the jovial priest.

That it was a severe mortification to Wolsey cannot be doubted: indeed, it is said to have rendered him very uneasy in his cure, being thereby exposed to rude treatment from ignorant and ill-bred people, whence he found his authority lessened so much, as to make him feel it advisable to change his residence; a resolution further confirmed by the death of his patron the Marquess of Dorset, which rendered it necessary for him, who felt the strong spring of ambition in his bosom, to look round him for a new patron, and for a wider field for his abilities; having thus lost, for a time at least, the principal support of his hopes, the marquess being a nobleman of such distinction at Court, and in the state, as to have been to him a sure means of facilitating his advancement to the highest posts in the Church, or even in the pursuit of political influence and power.

The death of the Marquess of Dorset was thus

necessarily, at first, a source of trouble and anxiety to Wolsey, he having depended much, if not solely, upon that family interest for promotion in the Church; besides which, his fellowship having been necessarily given up on becoming rector of Lymington, he was, in a great measure, removed from college interest. His feelings, at this moment, are very quaintly described by his friend Cavendish, who says, that now being destitute of his singular good lord, as well as of his fellowship, which was most of his reliefe, he thought long to be provided of some other keep, to defend himself from all such storms as he might meet with. He then details, how, "in his travell thereabouts," he grew acquainted with a very great and ancient knight, who had a great place in Calais under Henry VII.; and, he adds, that this knight he served, and behaved himself so discreetly, that he obtained the special favour of his said master; insomuch that, for his wit and gravity, he committed all the care and charge of his office to his said chaplain. The knight, he continues, shortly afterwards gave up his office of Treasurer of Calais, and returned to England, intending, on account of his great age, to live a more private life; and to reward the services of Wolsey, he procured for him the situation of chaplain to the king.

The knight, here alluded to, was Sir John Nanfan; but the latter occurrences did not take place

until two years afterwards, during part of which period, as we shall proceed to show, Wolsey met with both ecclesiastical patronage and preferment.

These were conferred on him by archbishop Dean, who received him into his service as one of his domestic chaplains; and such was his obliging and respectful behaviour, that he gained rapidly on the favour of the Canterbury prelate, who recommended him most strongly to the pope, whence he received, soon after, dispensations to hold two benefices at once; a thing then almost unheard of.

Dean was an Oxford man, and may probably have known Wolsey personally, whilst the latter was at his studies; and, had he lived longer, would, no doubt, have proved an excellent ecclesiastical patron, for his interest must have been great, being, first, Abbot of Llanthony; then Chancellor of Ireland; Bishop of Bangor, translated thence to Aylesbury; and in two years afterwards, elevated to the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury. Weever, in his Funeral Monuments, describes him as a very wise, industrious man, by whose care and diligence, during his abode in Ireland, Perkin Warbeck, who counterfeited himself to be Richard the young Duke of York, was forced to fly from thence into Scotland. He was assiduous for the welfare of the Church; and, whilst Bishop of Bangor, recovered several parcels of land for that

See, which had been lost through the negligence of his predecessors; amongst which, was an island between Holyhead and Anglesey, called Moile Honnart, or the Island of Seals. He also expended considerable sums in the reparation of the cathedral and palace at Bangor, which had been burnt by Owen Glendower.

During the short time that he held the See of Canterbury, he was very active, having not only built the greatest part of Otford House, but also raised the iron-work which was then upon the coping of Rochester bridge.

He died 15th of February, at Lambeth, and his body was carried by water to Faversham; from thence by land to Canterbury, where he was buried in the chapel of the martyrdom of Thomas a Becket; attended to the grave by all his domestic clergy, amongst whom Wolsey was present, by upwards of sixty of the principal gentry of the county, and by fifty torch-bearers with burning torches. On his coffin was laid an effigy in his archiepiscopal robes; and the whole was conducted with the most solemn ceremony, Wolsey and Gardiner, then his chaplains, walking as chie mourners.

Early in April, 1502, prince Arthur died, leaving the succession open to his younger brother, Henry, then Duke of York, and soon after, created Prince of Wales at Westminster, about which time, Wolsey was successful in his endeavour to

obtain the favour and patronage of Sir John Nanfan, as already alluded to.

Respecting this personage, there is some degree of biographical uncertainty. Fiddes says, that Sir John being a Somersetshire gentleman, it is not improbable that Wolsey had contracted some acquaintance with him, during his residence in that County; but Nash, in his history of Worcestershire, states, that John Nanfan, about 1503, was son and heir of Sir Richard; and, he adds, that it was Richard, who was Captain of Calais, made a knight and esquire of the body to Henry VII. But this does not agree with the alleged years and infirmity of Wolsey's patron; for Sir Richard Nanfan was Sheriff of Worcestershire in 1503, and his wife Margaret did not die until 1509, when, by her will now in the Prerogative office, she left her body to be buried in the church of the exaltation of the Holy Cross, in the hospital of St. Bartholomew, in West Smithfield, along with her husband Sir Richard Nanfan, knt.

How Wolsey conducted himself with this new patron has been already recorded in an extract from Cavendish, who also mentions his recommendation to a royal chaplaincy; of which, however, Drake, in his history of York, speaks in rather more unqualified terms, for he says, that, "growing weary of Nanfan's chaplainship, his boundless spirit not brooking so narrow a confinement, he begged leave to resign, when the

other got him preferred to be one of the king's chaplains."

It was an important era, a time fruitful in great events, when Wolsey thus found himself on the first step to political preferment and influence —a period which may be considered as the dawn of popular rights, of commerce and manufactures, of arts and sciences, and of our modern political predominance: and a slight sketch of what now forms the British empire, and of foreign states in general, will enable us more fully to appreciate the talents, as well as the actions of the subject of our biography.

England herself cannot be said, as yet, to have formed the basis of her present system of policy, either home or foreign, nor did she even approach towards it until the subsequent reign of Elizabeth, when the protestant religion was firmly established. But a great change was taking place, notwithstanding, in consequence of the baronial power being then broken by Henry VII. through the statute permitting the barons and other great landholders to alienate, or to mortgage their estates, without the payment of heavy fines for licences of alienation.

As yet, England was but a secondary maritime power—the naval preponderance of Europe then resting with Portugal and Spain, they possessing, agreeable to papal division, both the Indies. Commerce, of course, was but in its infancy; for it

was only in the preceding short reign of Richard, that we had appointed consuls in foreign ports: and, even at the accession of Elizabeth, the customs did not produce more than 36,000*l.* per annum. Home manufactures were principally of iron and wool.

The fine arts also were in their infancy; yet, with us, next to Italy, they had made greater progress than in any other country of Europe: and we must do Wolsey the justice to acknowledge that much of their improvement in the subsequent reign was owing to his example and encouragement.

The affairs of Scotland, as far as was likely to affect England, may now be considered as in a quiescent state; for James IV. was recently united to the princess Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter, and a peace had been for some time concluded between the two kingdoms. It is true, that this union was objected to by some of the council, on the plea, that thus the crown might fall to the blood royal of Scotland; but Henry overruled the objection, saying, that England would not lose by that, for it would not produce an accession of England to Scotland, but of Scotland to England, independent of the national jealousies and quarrels, that would be guarded against by such an event taking place.

Of the state of Ireland at that period little favourable can be said; for it was then a divided

and unhappy country, with what may be called three classes of inhabitants, whose interests, as they themselves believed, and whose prejudices were always in a state of warfare. Of the original Irish one portion was civilised, being either within, or near to, the English pale; whilst the other was wild and savage in manners, living less by agriculture than by predatory incursions upon their neighbours, with a kind of natural taste for rebellion and change, and always even ready to destroy each other in the quarrels of their chiefs; who were also, in a great measure, subject to the will of the general mass, from the operation of the system of Tanistry, which often placed an uncle or cousin in rank and power, when the legal heir was too young for the duties of a chief, or when any ambitious relative of the heir chose, by flattering the people, to usurp hereditary rights. The other class of Irish population consisted of the descendants of English settlers, from the time of Henry II. to the period in question.

We may state here, that Archbishop Dean, Wolsey's late patron, had been Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1495, then holding the episcopal chair of Bangor; and was succeeded, in 1496, by the Earl of Kildare, of whom, with reference to Wolsey, an anecdote will be found in another place. Kildare himself had, indeed, been for some time a prisoner in England; and was, in 1496, brought before the king and council, to answer to nume-

rous political crimes charged against him. Henry told the earl, when first brought before him, that he feared his cause was a very bad one; and, therefore, as an indulgence, he should have what counsel he desired. "Then," said Kildare, "I shall pitch upon the best counsel in England." The king asked, "Who is that?" when the earl replied, "Marry! even your highness." This pleased the king, and he laughed heartily; and when the council, after long investigation, had considered the case, and the counsel for the prosecution had finished his pleadings with the observation, "That all Ireland could not govern the earl," the king with great good humour replied, that if so, then the earl was the fittest man to govern Ireland; confirming this decision by a speedy appointment of Kildare to the office of lord deputy, which he executed for several years with the utmost loyalty, though not without many enemies; but of this more anon.

To begin with the west of Europe, it is sufficient to observe of Portugal, that she was under the dominion of Emanuel, the great encourager of foreign discoveries; and had already began to derive great advantages from her settlements in Africa, and in her new commerce with India by the Cape of Good Hope; but she had little weight otherwise in European politics, having suffered much by her unhappy warfare in Barbary, towards the close of the preceding century.

Spain was governed by Ferdinand, father-in-law of the young Prince Henry, and grandfather of the young Prince Charles, afterwards Charles V. heir apparent, or rather heir probable, to the imperial throne: but Spain was suffering much in her internal regulations, by the recent expulsion of the Moors and Jews, which had almost deprived her of the means of art and industry.

France was more ambitious than powerful. She had not yet recovered from the effects of her contests with England, respecting claims to the crown —claims which Henry VIII. shortly afterwards brought forward to their fullest extent; but she was putting forth her energies, and had already commenced her career of preponderance in the affairs of Europe, though for a time confined to the intrigues of the papal succession, and the intricacies of Italian politics.

The state of Italy, from internal jealousies, and from the claims of various princes, was by no means a happy one; yet not more than ten years previous, Guiccardini speaks of it as quiet, pleasant, and easy; adding, that since the decline of the Roman empire, the principalities of that country had not tasted of such great and general prosperity, nor had they been so happy or so well governed. The consequence was, that being on all sides in peace and tranquillity, the hills and barren places were tilled, and made no less fruitful than the valleys. It flourished also with men of

wit, well versed in all the arts and sciences; whilst the people were distinguished for their knowledge and discipline in war, thereby bearing a great reputation amongst the European nations.

But from this state of repose it had now for some time been disturbed by the claims of Charles VIII. of France to the crown of Naples, and by the political intrigues of Ludovic Sforza, uncle to the Duke of Milan. To this must be added the ambition of Cæsar Borgia, base son of Pope Alexander, who also aimed at the throne of Naples; and whose expenses were so great, that the revenues of the church were not sufficient for him and for the state of his father's papal court, joined to the father's own expenses in a shameful career of every disgraceful vice.

The conduct of Pope Alexander, about this period, certainly tended to produce that order of things, which subsequently gave to Wolsey strong hopes of the tiara, as far as bribery could be successful; for the conclave was now in the most corrupt state, in consequence of Alexander having established a new college of eighty writers of briefs, as they were called, each of whom purchased his situation for 250 crowns of gold; of his having also sold several cardinal's hats, where vacancies happened from natural demise; nay, of his having even formed the plan of poisoning many of his richest prelates, for the sake of plundering their property, and selling their benefices!

Alexander also, on occasion of the grand jubilee at Rome, had raised large sums, by selling pardons and indulgences to such as could afford to buy them; nay, he even granted the spiritual advantages of that pilgrimage to those who did not attend, provided they were willing to pay sufficiently for the same.

In Germany, Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, had recently been elected emperor; in addition to which, by his marriage with the heiress of Burgundy, he possessed that dukedom, together with the whole of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands. But his power as emperor was by no means extensive, the princes and principalities being all insubordinate and all independent.

Such then was the state of Europe, when the subject of our biography first became a courtier, and first grasped at political power.

Wolsey's appointment of chaplain to the king was, as already noticed, principally owing to the friendly recommendation of Sir John; but he felt himself happy in obtaining it by any means, for it had been a frequent saying of his, that if he could but set *one* foot in the court, he had no doubt of obtaining whatever he might wish for: and he speedily set himself to profit of his promotion, beginning now more closely to study the nature of man and things; in which, as we are told, by the incredible penetration of his wit, the facility and capaciousness of his genius, accompanied with a

profound judgment, he made such a progress, as surprised many about him. It was said of him, that it was not only his good fortune that exalted him to that wonderful greatness he afterwards arrived at, but also his industry and extraordinary parts.

His manners must also have had considerable effect, for he is represented by Archbishop Parker, in his British Antiquities, as learned, and soft and pleasing in speech, and remarkable for elegance of manners, and propriety of dress; advantages which, at that imperfect period of civilisation, must have stood him in great stead. It is remarked of him likewise, that he raised his sentiments with his fortune; and, as he was preferred, studied to be equal to the trust reposed in him; always conducting both himself and his conversations suitable to the different stations of life in which he was progressively placed.

Still it appears that it was not to his personal merit alone, except as that might be useful to others, that Wolsey was indebted for the early rapid rise he met with; nor was it so much from his courtly flattery that Bishop Fox patronised him at first, as from a desire on the part of that prelate to avail himself of Wolsey as a political assistant. Fox saw clearly that promotion must speedily fall upon one so well qualified for any employment at court; and accordingly hoped, by the assistance of so able and so active a person, to

be in a better condition to obviate the designs of his potent rival the Earl of Surry *, and by that means to prevent the earl from filling the court with his own creatures and dependents. Such were the bishop's politics; but they did not show themselves in their true colours until the beginning of the next reign.

But Wolsey's object was certainly to attach himself to the party of Bishop Fox, and it is expressly stated by an accurate writer, that he no sooner found himself in a situation so far above his former hopes or prospects, than he begun, with due policy, to secure all its advantages; for which purpose, as his domestic biographer states, he having then just occasion to be daily in sight of the king in his closet, and not choosing to spend the rest of the day in idleness, he would attend those men whom he thought to bear most rule in the councils, and were most in favour with the king. These, at the period in question, were the Lord Privy Seal, Dr. Fox, Bishop of Winchester,

* This was Thomas, son of John, first Duke of Norfolk, so created by Richard III., but slain at Bosworth, and attainted. But Thomas, then also created Earl of Surry, though taken prisoner on the field, was soon after honoured with the confidence of Henry VII., who appointed him a privy counsellor, restored him to the earldom of Surry, and employed him not only against the Scots, but also on occasion of some of the insurrections in the north. At the period in question, he held the high office of Lord Treasurer of England.

and the master of the wards and constable of the Tower, Sir Thomas Lovell, Knt., described as a very wise and sage counsellor.

Nor were his labours in vain; for, as Cavendish further states, these ancient and grave counsellors, in process of time, perceiving Wolsey to be a man of very acute wit, thought him a meet instrument to be employed in greater affairs; but it was three years after his first appointment as chaplain, before any opportunity offered for the exercise of his powers, in an embassy to the Emperor Maximilian, which shall be noticed in its place.

Before we close the year 1503, we may notice that, on the 25th of June in that year, the young Prince Henry was assured in marriage to the Princess Katharine of Spain, widow of his brother Arthur, at the palace of the Bishop of Salisbury in Fleet-street *. Of 1504, we have only to record that Wolsey still held the rectory of Lymington, as appears from a papal bull of that year, containing a dispensation for his holding a third living, the rectory of Redgrave, in the diocese of Norwich, to which he was instituted, in 1505, by the venerable and religious Abbot of St. Edmund's Bury.

Henry VII. had now been for some time a

* This palace stood upon the ground which now forms Salisbury-square and Dorset-street, stretching its gardens down to the river, at present occupied by coal wharfs.

widower; and, in looking round him for a wife, had fixed his eyes upon Margaret, Duchess Dowager of Savoy*, and daughter of Maximilian the Emperor; for which purpose he was anxious to employ a confidential ambassador: and it is a curious fact, that however popular he was becoming with the leading ministers, yet up to the period of the proposed embassy to the emperor, it does not appear that Wolsey had been in the slightest degree honoured with the royal notice. This is evident from the statement of his own domestic biographer, who says, that the king having an urgent occasion to send an ambassador to Maximilian, who "lay at that present in the Low Countries at Flanders, and not farre from Callis," the Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Thomas Lovell, two of his majesty's most esteemed counsellors, were one day advising and debating with themselves about this embassy, when they mutually agreed that they had now a convenient opportunity of pushing Wolsey on the road to preferment. For this purpose they took occasion to commend his excellent eloquence and learning to the monarch, who paid attention to their representations, desiring them to introduce their favorite to the royal presence,

* This would have been, had it taken place, the formation of a second matrimonial alliance with the Spanish and imperial dynasty, Henry's son and heir-apparent being already assured to Katharine, aunt of Charles, afterwards emperor, who was also nephew to the bride elect.

when the king, to ascertain the abilities of the chaplain, entered into familiar discourse with him concerning matters of state, and his majesty found him "to bee a man of a sharpe wit, and of such excellent parts, that hee thought him worthy to bee put in trust with matters of greater consequence."

The king was no sooner convinced of Wolsey's fitness for the embassy in question, than he gave him orders to prepare for it instantly, referring him to the king in council for his commission and instructions; during the preparation of which, the new ambassador had frequent occasions to repair from time to time into the royal presence, still further convincing Henry of his singular wisdom and sound judgment.

With a heart swelling with ambition, and an anxious desire to distinguish himself upon this flattering opportunity, Wolsey seems to have made up his mind to astonish at least by his despatch, even if not successful in his diplomatic exertions: accordingly, having taken his final audience of leave at Richmond at four o'clock in the afternoon, he embarked on board a Gravesend barge brought up the river for that purpose; and, with the help of wind and tide, reached Gravesend in little more than three hours. Stopping only for post horses, he set off between seven and eight in the evening for Dover, and travelling with a speed nearly equal to that of the present day, he arrived at Dover the

next morning at the very moment when the packet got under weigh. No time was now to be lost; he pushed off to the packet, and before noon was safe on shore at Calais. Still pressing on, he waited only for post horses, and travelled with such diligence, that at a late hour in the evening he found himself at the residence of Maximilian, who, hearing of the arrival of an ambassador from Henry, determined that no time should be lost in diplomatic formalities, "for his affection to the king of England was such, that he was glad of any opportunitie to doe him a curtesie," and directed that Wolsey should instantly be admitted to the imperial closet, who appears to have made good use of the occasion, stating clearly and eloquently the object of his embassy, and craving speedy despatch thereon. In this he was eminently successful, for every thing was settled early the next day, all Henry's requests being granted, when he again set off for Calais, where he arrived that night, accompanied by a splendid train of nobles from the emperor's court to do him honour. At Calais his arrival just took place as the gates were opened at day-break, where he found a packet ready to sail, from which he was landed at Dover between ten and eleven o'clock in the forenoon, in less than seventy hours after his departure from Richmond, where he arrived that night, and went quietly to bed until the morning.

No sooner did the king leave his bed-chamber,

at an early hour, to proceed to his closet to mass, than Wolsey presented himself, when the king, little aware of what had taken place, began to check him for his remissness in not having already set off upon his embassy—" Sir," Wolsey is reported to have replied—" if it may please your Highness, I have already been with the Emperor, and despatched your affairs, I trust to your Grace's contentacion," and thereupon he presented his sovereign with his letters of credence from the emperor. Having entered into all the particulars, the king's wonder was strongly excited; but his majesty, for the present, dissembled his admiration and imagination in that matter, under the semblance of coldness, if not of harshness, and demanded of him if he had met with a pursuivant who had been sent after him with letters, " which concerned very material passages which were omitted in their consultation, which the king earnestly desired should have been despatched in his ambassage."

His majesty, indeed, scarcely imagined the messenger to be well out of London, and was therefore doubly surprised when Wolsey answered—" Yes, forsooth, I met with him yesterday by the way; and though I had no knowledge thereof, yet notwithstandinge, I have beene so bold, upon mine own discretion, perceiving the matter to be very necessary, in that behalfe I despatched the same: and, forasmuch as I have beene so bold to

exceed my commission, I most humbly crave your royall remission and pardon."—" The king, inwardly rejoicing, replied—we doe not only pardon you, but give you our princely thanks, both for your good exploit, and happie expedition: and dismissed him for that present, and bade him returne to him againe after dinner, for a further relation of his ambassage, and so the king went to masse."

Wolsey then took the earliest opportunity of visiting his good friends, the Bishop of Winchester and Sir Thomas Lovel, who received him with warm applause for having thus done such honour to their recommendation, paving the way at the same time to further confidence and preferment, soon after manifested in his presentation to the Deanery of Lincoln, which was then the greatest clerical promotion the king could give, short of a bishopric. Wolsey again found himself about to lose a patron, for Henry's health began sensibly to decline; a circumstance which must have been more than ordinarily regretted by him, as he was every day rising higher in the royal favour: indeed he had now become a favourite companion of his majesty, who, feeling the hour of death approach, was more disposed to admit his chaplains than his ministers to his hours of privacy. Yet it was not precisely for religious purposes that Wolsey was selected for the royal closet; for the king himself, whenever his health would permit,

took great delight in the society of the most able and learned men about the court, and in none more than that of Wolsey, whom he at last began to consult upon his private affairs, as well as matters of state; and it was principally on this account that he appointed him to the office of almoner, thereby fixing him more particularly near to the royal person.

This intimacy with the king now for the first time led to an intimacy with the prince, who was about seventeen years of age, and beginning to think for himself. The youthful Henry was first induced to notice Wolsey in consequence of the general respect that was shown to him by all about the court; and on a more intimate acquaintance he became so delighted with his society and conversation, that he was in the habit of conversing with him for hours together.

In these interviews with the heir apparent Wolsey was not unmindful of his own interest, but took every opportunity of further ingratiating himself, and soon began regularly to pay his court to him.

It was on the 2d of February 1508, that Wolsey was elected dean of Lincoln, when he resigned Lymington, being succeeded by John Baker, B. D. and three weeks afterwards, 20th February, he was collated prebend of Walton Brinhold, in the room of John Harden, who resigned, and soon after prebend of Stowe, advancing still so much in the king's favour, that he was considered a certain

candidate for the next vacant See. He seems rather to have encouraged than to have checked these prognostications of his future clerical greatness, and he lost no opportunity of courting popularity, or of appearing to extend his patronage to those deserving of it. In particular the famous William Lilye, master of St. Paul's school, was then so much in his favour, that he even visited him there to witness the performance of the Tragedy of Dido by the pupils; the play being drawn up by Lilye himself from Virgil.

It may appear strange, at the present day, that Wolsey should have availed himself of the sacerdotal character as a stepping-stone to political preferment and influence; but the fact is, owing to a variety of circumstances, particularly from the ignorance in which the laity were kept in general by the priesthood, that much of the wealth and more of the learning of the nation were at this time in the possession of the clergy. Speaking of their wealth, Baker says, in his Chronicle, that they were of two sorts, rich and poor; and we may suppose them so likewise in regard to learning, when we find the people in the eastern counties in such a state of ignorance, that an enthusiastic bishop, Thomas Scroope, of an ancient noble family, and at a very advanced age, walked bare-footed up and down in Norfolk, for several years, teaching the Ten Commandments.

Other prelates, however, pursued another course

with the clergy, especially Fox, Bishop of Winchester, who, by the command of the king, assembled them all before him, and advised them to be liberal in their contributions to the royal treasury; but to this he was answered by the rich, and the great incumbents, that they were at great charges in keeping up hospitality, and in *maintaining their families*, on which account they hoped to be spared; whilst the poorer order urged that their means were small, and therefore they hoped to be excused.

They had thus apparently caught the bishop in a dilemma; but to the richer sort he acknowledged at once that it was very true they lived at great expense and hospitality; and, since they could do that, there was no reason why they should not do it for their prince's service, therefore they must pay; he then told the poorer class, that it was true their livings were small, but their frugality was great, of course they must be able to pay, and pay they must,

SECTION III.

1509—1515.

Death of Henry VII.—Promises of the new Reign—Marriage of Henry and Katharine—Coronation—Wolsey's Politics and politic Conduct—Aims at the Papal Tiara—Star-Chamber—Death of his Enemy, the Countess of Richmond—Power and Influence—Made Dean of York—War with France—Royal Campaign—Liege and Bishopric of Tournay—Wolsey's Care of Naval Affairs—Bishop of Lincoln—Elected Chancellor of Cambridge, but refuses—Becomes Archbishop of York—Marriage of Louis of France with the King's Sister—Builds Hampton Court—Is raised to the Cardinalate—Manifestations of Pride and Arrogance—Marriage of Dowager of France with the Duke of Suffolk—Wolsey appointed Lord High Chancellor, &c. &c.

WOLSEY did not long enjoy the good graces of his first royal master, who died in 1509; and Cavendish very quaintly observes, that it was a wonder to see what practices and devices were then used about the young prince, Henry VIII.; together with the great provision that was then made for the funeral of the one, and for the coronation of the other. "After the solemnizations and costly tryumphs," he adds, "our naturall, young, couragious, lusty prince, and soveraign Lord, King Henry VIII., entering into his flower and lusty youth, tooke upon him the royall scepter and imperiall diademe of this fertile nation, the two-and-twentieth of April, Anno Dom. 1509,

which at that time flourished with all abundance of riches, whereof the king was most inestimably furnished, called then the golden world."

Of some of the delights of this "golden world" Wolsey seemed determined to partake; and still retaining the office of almoner, as by permission, with hopes of re-appointment, and finding that he had a plain pathway to promotion, he behaved himself with so much policy, that he was speedily raised to the rank of a privy counsellor, and increased daily in the royal favour, receiving, not the then *palace* of Bridewell for his own personal residence as asserted by some writers, but a large house near to it, which had been the residence of Sir Richard Empson, and was forfeited to the crown, on his impeachment and conviction. That the premises must have been very extensive, however, is evident from the fact that there were ten gardens attached to them, reaching to the banks of the Thames.

We have already mentioned Wolsey's apppointment to the deanery of Lincoln by Henry VII., and have now to record that he was installed into that high office by proxy, as appears by the Lincoln register, on the 25th of March, previous to the demise of Henry, which did not take place until the 22d of April; the funeral being celebrated three days afterwards, on the 25th, when the royal remains were first carried in procession to St. Paul's, and from thence to Westminster Abbey, to be deposited in the tomb and chapel which Henry him-

self had erected; the royal chaplains, amongst whom was Wolsey, walking in the procession, and praying all the way.

A short time afterwards, on the 3d of May, Dean Wolsey was collated to the Prebend of Stow Magna, vacant by the death of John Smyth, and to which he had been presented by gift of the crown during the life-time of his deceased royal master: indeed he seems to have let nothing slip through his fingers, on which he had once laid his grasp; and it may be remarked of him, that with all his desire to reform the abuses of the church, he was himself, during the whole of his ecclesiastical and political power, the holder of more benefices and church preferments at once than any individual either before or since, whether under the Roman Catholic or Protestant regimes.

The new reign opened under very favourable auspices for Wolsey, who looked forward to the office of almoner, amongst the earliest court arrangements: and on the very first day that he appeared at court, the young monarch received him with the highest marks of favour; nay, he appeared even to single him out from his other attendants, conversing with him in a way so friendly and familiar, that all the courtiers instantly judged him to be in the very high road to state preferment, and accordingly began to pay him the utmost personal respect and deference.

This early notice of the king towards Wolsey

soon gained to the latter some share of credit and popularity; he being considered at least as one of the royal advisers to a proclamation, in which Henry said, that being informed his good subjects had been oppressed, under the specious pretence of preserving the prerogative of the crown, he now gave them leave to bring in their complaints, and promised them all due satisfaction towards the same. It is difficult to say, however, how far Wolsey's influence had yet extended with Henry in his more private concerns, particularly in regard to his marriage with his brother's widow, the Princess Katharine. Archbishop Warham was certainly strongly opposed to it; but Bishop Fox strenuously insisted that the pope's dispensation was lawful: and from the confidential intercourse between him and Wolsey, we may naturally conclude as to the part taken by the latter, especially as the young king was himself really partial to the match, not only from political reasons, but also from his firm belief, that nothing more than the mere ceremony had taken place between his deceased brother and the bride elect—a fact afterwards most solemnly asserted by Katharine herself *. Most of the historians of that day have

* Thus modestly stated by herself, in the words of our Avonian bard:

—— "Please you, sir,
The king, your father, was reputed for
A prince most prudent, of an excellent

been very prolix on this part of the subject, and many whimsical anecdotes have been given to the world as truths; but delicacy forbids us going further than to record that the marriage ceremony of Henry and Katharine was celebrated in the chapel royal of the palace at Greenwich, on the 3d of June; when, as distinctly stated by several writers, the young widow was dressed in white, to show her virginity; a circumstance, in regard to dress, on which great importance was laid at that period, the very wearing of white being in itself considered in the light of a tacit vow or oath at the altar to the truth of the assumption.

The honeymoon was scarcely half over, when preparations were busily made for the royal coronation of the new married couple; a ceremony which took place in all due form on the 24th of the same month, the crowns being placed on both their heads by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury; no very agreeable office, we may suppose, in reference to his strong and conscientious opposition to the marriage.

It has by some been said, that Wolsey's very

And unmatch'd wit and judgment: Ferdinand,
My father, King of Spain, was reckon'd one
The wisest prince that there had reign'd by many
A year before: It is not to be question'd
That they had gather'd a wise council to them
Of every realm, that did debate this business,
Who deem'd our marriage lawful."

early intimacy with the young monarch, after his coming to the crown, was owing to the particular recommendation of Bishop Fox; and it is not impossible that such a recommendation may have had its weight, in regard to affairs strictly political. The fact is, as stated, that Fox observed with great uneasiness the course which Henry seemed inclined to take in lavishing the treasures collected by his father, and in bestowing his confidence upon young and extravagant favourites. This made so deep an impression upon him, as to induce him to think of retiring from court; but to this there was still one powerful objection, inasmuch as he would thereby risk the loss of his own personal favour with the king. Accordingly he again thought of Wolsey as the proper person to counteract his political rival, the Earl of Surry; and, as he had done when recommending him to Henry VII., so did he now to his son. To this he was led, we are told, more particularly by observing the great distinction with which Wolsey was treated by the king; and, therefore, he took an early opportunity of asking an audience of the youthful monarch, when he, in a handsome speech carefully prepared for the occasion, requested that he might be excused from a constant attendance at court, in consequence of age and infirmity. To this Henry gave his assent; when Fox adroitly seized the opportunity to recommend Wolsey, as possessing the greatest abilities for a political minister, and well

qualified to execute the most important services. This recommendation was perfectly in consonance with the royal feelings, as the king himself acknowledged, and measures were taken accordingly.

To this, however, we may add, that whatever of court favour Wolsey may have owed to others, part of it was probably due to the young Marquess of Dorset, formerly his pupil, and then a great favourite with the king; though at a subsequent period he joined the party hostile to Wolsey, and not only subscribed, but was one of those who presented the forty-four articles of impeachment against him to his sovereign.

Henry's public favours did not, however, flow very fast or early upon Wolsey; for it was not until the 8th of November, that the order was signed reappointing him to the office of almoner; on which day was also dated a grant to him of all goods and chattels of *felones de se*, and all coroners' deodands; but with the express reservation, that the proceeds were all to be distributed for charitable purposes.

At this period it must be remembered, that Henry's disposition was exactly such as an ambitious favourite might wish for, according to the account given by Stowe; who, after stating the names of his council, recommended by the Countess of Richmond, his grandmother, observes, that these grave counsellors, fearing lest such abundance of riches and wealth, as the king was now

possessed of, might move his young years unto riotous forgetting of himself, persuaded him to be present with them when they sate in council, to acquaint him with matter pertaining to the politic government of the realm; with which, at first, he could not well endure to be much troubled, being rather inclined to follow such pleasant pastimes as his youthful years did more delight in.

That Wolsey should hence speedily rise into favour with the youthful monarch is not surprising, after its being also confessed by his apologist, that Henry being young, and much given to his pleasure, his old counsellors advised him to have recourse sometimes to the council about important affairs; but that the politic almoner, on the contrary, persuaded his royal master, "to mind his pleasure, and he would take his care and charge upon himselfe, (if his majestie would countenance him with his authoritie), which the king liked well; and thus none was like to the almoner in favour with the king."

This, if true, is convincing proof, if proof were needful, of the daring grasp of Wolsey's mind, and of the extent of his ambition, in already aspiring to the papacy; on which point, his own personal exertions he felt to be strongly required by the existing state of affairs. In the first place, the Reformation, though its demonstrations in the north of Italy had just been, as it were, exterminated, had nevertheless made great progress in

Germany, and was beginning to show itself in Bohemia; whilst in England its principles were sufficiently manifest to alarm an ambitious man looking forward to the highest offices in the papal hierarchy. In the second place, whoever might be candidate for the papal tiara, must fix his political hopes either on the imperial or French interests. Now, as to the empire, Maximilian, whose political influence and preponderance on the Continent arose rather from his possession of Burgundy and the Netherlands, than from his Austrian dominions, was well aware that he only held those states in right of his wife; and was, therefore, anxious, for his better security, to court the alliance of the youthful Henry, lest he should adopt a different line of policy from that of his father towards him: whilst, on the other hand, France was not only still in doubt as to the claims of succession, which a young and spirited monarch might choose to renew, but Louis XII. was himself then endeavouring to incorporate Bretagne with his other dominions, by an union with the heiress; a measure which Henry VII. had already been much blamed for allowing to be in train without opposing it, and which might readily become a subject of contest between the two countries. Besides, Louis was then at war with some of the Italian states, so that a rupture with England would have been highly impolitic. Wolsey was well aware of this, and that in the common course

of politics these two monarchs must become even the suppliants of the minister and favourite of the King of England, who was then in possession of a well stored treasury, and actuated by a spirit of boldness and daring that would not hesitate at warfare. Here then was the stepping-stone to papal power; and the ambitious favourite saw that he had but to choose between the two interests.

It was about 1509 that Wolsey received the appointment of reporter of proceedings in the Star Chamber, but must previously have been entrusted with higher powers; for his domestic biographer observes, that his sentences in the Star Chamber were ever so pithy and witty, that upon all occasions his brother judges chose him, "for the fluent eloquence of his tongue, to be the expositor to the king in all their proceedings. In whom the king received so great content, that he called him still nearer to his person; and the rather because he was most ready to advance the king's own will and pleasure, having no respect to the case."

This is a most unfortunate admission for Wolsey's judicial honesty; particularly when we reflect, that not many years afterwards he was entrusted with the property and rights, nay then almost with the lives of the people of England, in the high office of Lord Chancellor. But, indeed, he is acknowledged, even in this early political stage of his progress, to have acted a part which, at the present day, would not be considered a very

honourable one, and might cause more than one long debate in parliament; for he is stated, being now generally known to be in high favour, to have been the mark for all having solicitations; "till at last," says Cavendish, "many presents, gifts, and rewards, came in so plentifully, that I dare say he wanted nothing, for hee had all things in abundance, that might either please his fancie, or enrich his coffers, for the times so favourably smiled upon him." To account for this, it is elsewhere expressed, that Wolsey climbed up Fortune's wheel, so that no man was in estimation with the king, but only he, for his witty qualities and wisdom: to which it is added, that he had an especial gift of natural eloquence, and "a fyled tongue to pronounce the same," so that he was able therewith to persuade and allure all men to his purposes, in the time of his continuance in power and favour.

We have already brought down this biography to the latter part of 1509, but we may here go back to notice that Wolsey felt reason to congratulate himself on an event that took place in the royal family, which removed an obstacle to the increase of his influence over the mind of the youthful monarch. This was the death of the venerable Margaret, Countess of Richmond, Henry's grandmother, which happened on the 29th of June, very soon after the coronation. Old Grafton says

this was an event by which the public welfare was "greatly endammaged, for she being a woman of singular wisdom and policy, and also of most virtuous life, perceiving that the king, by reason of his youthful and lusty years, could not execute and minister his office and function, did, from the beginning, so provide and study at all times, that she brought to pass, that such men as were the worthiest, and of most integrity and godliness, were advanced to the highest authority, and bore the chiefest sway in the administration of affairs for the public weal." Without impeaching Wolsey's character or motives, we may still suppose that his policy, as afterwards displayed, would not have escaped the prophetic penetration of the politic countess. We have already noticed the royal present to Wolsey of the parsonage and tenements of St. Bride's, with various gardens, &c. which had been previously seized illegally by Sir Richard Empson; but it appears from Rymer (Fœd. xii. 269), that the grant was not made officially out until the 30th of January, 1510; soon after which, on the 7th of February, he was appointed Canon of Windsor, succeeding to Robert Fysher: about which period we have reason to believe that he was admitted to the degree of S. T. B. at Oxford, on his own request; and on the 28th of the following November he received the additional favour of

the rectory of Turnington, in the diocese of Exeter, thus still adding to his wealth and ecclesiastical influence.

Though Wolsey was not yet elevated to the rank of minister, he was such a personal favourite, that the king seemed not happy without him, taking him in the royal suite wherever he went. On one occasion, Wolsey was with him at Windsor, from whence he wrote to Bishop Fox; this letter will clearly show the political card that he was playing, both with his old patron and his new one—it runs thus:

"After my most humble commendations, with desire of your health and perfect recovery, may it please your good lordship to understand: the ambassador of Spain hath liberally dealt with my Lord D'Arcy, and given him allowance for one whole month after 6*d.* the day, and for fifteen days after 8*d.* the day, for every soldier, more than he could demand; and the king, our master, hath for his part given to him the thousand pounds, which at his departing his grace lent to him. Thus the king's money goes away in every kind; and, as touching the king's abode here, he intends not to depart hence till four or five days before All-hallowe tide. On Monday next coming, his grace proposes to ride to London to see his ship, there to tarry two days, and then return hither again. My Lord Sha—ys is not yet come to court, but is expected in two or three

days. My Lord Treasurer, Surry, waited on his highness this day sevennight, and had such manner and countenance showed to him, that on the morrow he departed home again, and is not yet returned to court. With little help now he might be removed; whereof, in my poor judgment, no little good would ensue. Mr. Howard greatly incensed the king against the Scots, by whose wanton means his grace spends much money, and is more disposed to war than peace. Your presence would be very necessary to repress this appetite. Other news we have none here, except that it is thought the queen is with child; when other affairs occur, I shall let you know, hoping God will preserve your good lordship in happiness. At Windsor, in haste, the last day of September, with the rude hand of your loving and humble priest.

"As touching the preferment of Mr. Y—ng, I need not write, for I suppose he has advertised your lordship at length in that behalf, and also desired your counsel now that the king has showed him his pleasure, how far the expedition of this matter shall be further ordained and demeaned. Our Lord send you health and strength."

From the whole tenor of this epistle it is clear that Wolsey was, as yet, not arrived at that political preponderance which enabled him "to set up for himself." He was still the political protegé of Fox, and still acquainted him with the state of courtly affairs, which he was better enabled to do,

when a member of the Privy Council: but in that council his opinion was not yet of sufficient weight to counterbalance other interests, or to insure that line of policy which his good sense, perhaps self-interest, would have dictated; nor, indeed, did the appointment take place until the month of November, 1510.

That Wolsey was a great encourager of learning and learned men, having magnificent designs of promoting both, is now generally acknowledged; yet it is expressly asserted by Dr. Middleton, in the dedication of a work of his, "A Letter from Rome," that about this time, and in the very infancy of printing in England, he saw the probable effects of the press, in opposition to the Roman Catholic religion, so that in a speech to some body of clergy, he publicly forewarned them, that if they did not destroy the press, the press would destroy them." Still, even whilst reprobating this, if true, we must not forget that it was under his influence that Henry was induced to invite both Titian and Raphael into England!

His rise now began to show itself with more rapidity, and the almoner was looked up to as soon likely to become prime minister; so evident was his power indeed about this time, that Dean Colet, when ill and supposed to be dying, said to Erasmus, that Wolsey had the supreme command of the kingdom, and, therefore, he was going to retire from the world. So rapid, also, was his

rise, and so frequent his change of title, that Erasmus, who wrote a book about this period, to be dedicated to him, declared, that before he could have an opportunity of presenting it to his patronage, he was forced three times to change his style of address.

We have already noticed his appointment to a canonry of Windsor, but it appears from Rymer, (Fœd. xiii. 293.) that the grant was not signed until the 7th of February 1511, soon after which, he was appointed registrar of the order of the garter.

To do Wolsey impartial justice, we must record that he began early to exercise his power and influence in favour of Oxford: and it was at his solicitation, joined to that of Archbishop Warham, then Chancellor, and of Sir Thomas More, then High Steward of the University, that Henry not only confirmed all its charters of privileges, but even granted to it greater ones. Oxford must, indeed, have been much in need of royal patronage, if the statement is correct as to the facts which led to this application on their part: for we are told, that, at this very period, the scholars had been very ill-treated by the townsmen, the latter attempting to destroy some of the most ancient and well-known rights of that university. On this the scholars immediately complained to their chancellor; but at the same time stating, that their finances were so exhausted, they had not money enough to purchase a renewal of their privileges.

In Wolsey, however, they found a firm friend, and one disposed to serve them; for which, too, he was soon better qualified by an appointment to the Deanery of York, on the 21st of February, 1512; an arrangement which seems to have been very agreeable to Cardinal Baynbridge, archbishop of that see, then resident at Rome, who sent him a highly congratulatory letter upon the occasion. He was, about the same time, appointed to the Prebend of Bugthorpe, in York Diocese, and on the 18th of October following was presented to the Deanery of St. Stephen's Westminster, now the British House of Commons, by Bishop Fox, and George, Earl of Shrewsbury, to whom the presentation had been granted by the king's letters-patent. Wolsey was admitted and instituted into the high office, by John, then abbot of Westminster; but it is remarkable, that the only evidence of this fact, now existing, is to be found in the register or lease books of that church and abbacy.

Active political measures now took place, arising out of the war between France and the pope, on which subject several councils were called, but in which, if Wolsey was a participator, as probably he was, still we do not find any record of his opinions.

One party urged that the king had now an opportunity of recovering the ancient possessions of the crown in France, the people of which, it was alleged, would readily return to their ancient al-

legiance; especially as Louis XII. was then in Italy. Besides it was strongly represented that England might depend upon the assistance not only of Spain, but of Germany also. But the other party contended that hitherto England had never received any real advantage from all the battles she had fought with, or all the victories she had gained over France; and therefore no future advantages could be expected. Nay, they said that not only were all our treasures formerly exhausted, but that the people were even tired of the victories that had been gained. They further urged that we, as an island, had nothing to do with continental possessions, or continental warfare; and that, if something warlike must be entered into, then the East or West Indies were our proper fields of action, where, if the Spaniards or Portuguese should refuse to let us participate in their parts, still was there enough left for our own discovery. It was added that if piety was an object, then there would be more merit in converting the infidels to Christianity than in expending our time and treasure in establishing a doubtful head of the church—one whom the council of Pisa had determined to depose.

Notwithstanding the rationality of these latter arguments, the warm-hearted and enthusiastic monarch easily entered into the views of those who recommended war; and he not only acceded to the plan of calling a parliament for the purpose

of raising the necessary supplies, but also approved of two demands which were to be sent over to the King of France by a special ambassador: the first, that he should desist from hostilities against the pope; the second, that Louis should deliver up Anjou, Guienne, &c. But the French monarch refused to comply with either, and war was declared; the parliament not only approving of the same, but also granting large subsidies both from the commons and the clergy.

This parliament met in November, 1812; and no sooner was a royal campaign determined on, than Wolsey was specially appointed by the king to superintend not only every thing connected with the royal household, but even the formation of an army, and the furthering of its present and future supplies.

It may at first seem strange that a priest should be occupied with military preparations; but it has been justly accounted for, on the principle that he was entrusted with these preparations from his great favour with the king, without reference to his clerical profession: and he certainly acquired both favour and reputation by his exertions, for he was careful not to neglect any thing that could tend to increase Henry's good opinion of him; and on this occasion, in particular, his most indefatigable application appeared so evident to the king, that he was highly pleased with it; and perhaps the more so because he was pleased thus to

find in his court and council a churchman less scrupulous on many points than some of his older councillors. This feeling on the part of the monarch, it is stated, was therefore, when joined with his other talents for business, and his extensive knowledge in divinity, the means by which Wolsey finally gained such advantages over the other courtiers.

Rapin, indeed, attempts to give a different colour to those events; for he says that Wolsey made it his particular business to show to the king his errors since his accession to the throne, and how his youth had been abused; by which method, he insinuated to him by degrees that he was ill-served, and wanted an able minister, capable of easing him in the administration of the most weighty affairs, and of showing him the consequences. In a word, continues that author, he so managed, that he became himself the minister which he advised the king to seek, and, by degrees, was entrusted with the care and conduct of the king's principal affairs. Then, adds Rapin, his credit rendered him haughty, proud, insolent, and ungrateful to his old friends; in short, he was taxed with all the failings of this nature which favourites are usually charged with, and which, indeed, few favourites can avoid.

Of the justness of these charges we shall be enabled to judge, in the course of the following pages; only anticipating so far, as to notice another observation of that historian, that Wolsey,

like most others in his situation, became extremely odious, chiefly, because his counsels were self-interested, which the event discovered to all but the king, who was blind in that respect; he states, also, that his favour and credit caused the most potent princes of Europe to strive to gain him to their interests, and to glory, at least, outwardly, on being in the number of his friends.

We feel, however, although not panegyrists of the Cardinal, that something, at least, of this charge of selfishness will be removed by various occurrences, yet to be related; and that we shall be able to adduce some instances of real patriotism in his behalf. Wolsey certainly had sufficient political sagacity to perceive, as Rapin hints, that during Henry's reign the affairs of Europe were in such a situation as to give to England the power of making the balance to incline to whatever side she might espouse; and it cannot be denied that he knew how to improve this advantage, and thereby to render himself the richest and most powerful subject that ever was: still we cannot give full weight to the assertion that he laboured not with the same ardour for his master's honour as for his own interest.

But Rapin seems to have spoken generally from what Lord Herbert, in his Life of Henry, states more particularly, when he says that the king being young and given to his pleasure, some advised him to have recourse to his council for instructions

how to govern his kingdom; but Wolsey told the king that he should sometimes follow his studies and sometimes take his pleasure; and that it was wrong to meddle with old men's cares before it was proper so to do, especially seeing there was not wanting a person who could recite to his majesty the effect of a whole day's consultation in council. He then asserts that this advice so pleased the king, that Wolsey thence attained the height of royal favour.

It will not be irrelevant here to notice a speech attributed to Wolsey in a moment of royal confidential communication; but of the authenticity of which there may fairly be some doubt, from the strong jesuitical sophistry which pervades almost every line of it. Lord Herbert makes Wolsey allude to the experience which the king already had of the strange effects produced by contradictions of counsels. He then is made to say, that it was unsafe to believe singly either of those on whose advice the king most relied, and it was impossible to believe both; wherefore he recommended that the youthful monarch should choose some one, who, being disinterested, might have no passion or thought but how to serve him. Then come arguments, urging that all those reasons of state which prove monarchy to be the best form of government make for a favourite in the next place, upon the principle that a king should not allow his power to diffuse itself, at once from his

own person, but through the medium of another individual; for kings must never descend but by steps, and the higher they must stand in proportion to the ranks and orders under them.

It was a bold stroke of policy in Wolsey next to tell the king, if he really did do so, that the adoption of a favourite minister would not induce the other members of the council to consider themselves much lessened; because, as long as they should be permitted still to exercise their usual sway over their inferiors, they would not think themselves much concerned for the rest.

Other pleas which he is supposed to have urged were, however, if not perfectly correct, yet more plausible, as he is stated to have said,—"Besides, your people will be glad of it, as knowing which way to address their suits; to leave them more at large, were to expose them to those delays and uncertainties they would never patiently endure. Again, it would be impossible any other way to keep secresy in business (which yet is the life of council), or almost to find out who is the divulger. Moreover, if your highness would not seem to have advice to proceed from you, how easy may your highness disavow all, and lay the fault on him. Thus may your highness find the many uses you may make of your favourite:"—but the whole of this appears to be in a style of argument which Wolsey would never have dared to use towards a monarch so clear-sighted as Henry was; nor can

we suppose that even so young a monarch would have been blinded by that affectation of self-denial where Wolsey is made to urge, that he would never advise the king to see only by the eyes, or to hear only by the ears, of the favourite; since that would be to keep him in too much darkness and subjection. To prevent that, he is said to recommend the appointment of other able persons, such as might be unknown to each other, by whom the king might be informed, from time to time, not only of what was done, but even said in common repute; whence it would be impossible for the favourite to deceive him. He is also made to recommend the formation of something very like what, in later days, has been called backstairs influence, by advising with, and consulting separately, three or four confidential persons for the purpose of particular scrutiny and examination of the more intricate and doubtful parts of business; these persons not to be members of the council, but to prepare and to investigate such difficult questions as were to come before that body.

Thus far we can scarcely suppose Machiavel himself would have ventured to speak so openly; what then shall we say of the conclusion?—"This will enable you to speak thereof when you transfer it to the body of your council, and make you discern their opinions only. If any thing be determined, let your favourite be the chief actor in the execution thereof; then your highness may please

to advise, neither will I presume to nominate myself; otherwise only I will crave leave to say this much, that when your highness will, out of your own election, think fit to use my service therein, I doubt not but so to establish and conserve your highness's authority, as to make you the greatest and happiest prince living, neither shall I fear to fall when any benefit to your majesty will grow thereby."

Can we believe, on Lord Herbert's evidence, that this speech so far prevailed on the king that, without any other advice or consideration, he instantly ordered Wolsey to despatch his most important affairs agreeable to the foregoing proposition? Or, are we to suppose with Polydore Virgil, that Wolsey was of such a gay, facetious temper, that he could suit his humour to the king's, so as to make it agreeable to the levity and passion of youth; and that he would sing, laugh, dance, and play with the young courtiers who were most in favour with the king?

More liberal is it, indeed, to give credence to Collier's account, where he observes that, although Wolsey on coming into power indulged the king in his humour, yet he reminded him of business, and particularly endeavoured to make him sensible what advantages trade and navigation would produce for the kingdom; which induced Henry, in his youthful days, to be very attentive in that respect, both in giving his subjects letters of safe

conduct, and, in case they sustained any damage by foreigners, in demanding satisfaction; and, if that was not to be had, to repel force by force.

The probability of this, too, is further confirmed by what Polydore Virgil himself acknowledges, that, after a share of the public business was devolved by the king on the favourite, yet Henry, though in that respect disengaged and at liberty, being well disposed, instructed and formed for empire, did not wholly neglect his duty: but, that he might employ his time both commendably and to advantage, applied himself to the study of good literature; sometimes, at his leisure hours, with music; at other times with divinity, and this he did by the advice of Wolsey.

That Wolsey, as is generally acknowledged, possessed an universal genius, adapted for his times, and for his own ambitious plans, cannot well be doubted; and in his new office he showed himself as well fitted for the camp as for the court or conclave. Hostilities being already determined on by parliament, and now on the verge of breaking out between France and England, Henry, as already slightly noticed, determined to collect a formidable force and to invade France in person, which he could do more easily than at the present day, Calais being then in our possession. It became necessary, of course, that all due and requisite preparations should speedily be made; Henry, therefore, determined, as we have already recorded, to

give the whole charge to Wolsey, as the fittest person for it: and he certainly was so, according to the spirit and practice of that day, for he being without scruples * in whatever the king might demand, however difficult it might seem, accepted the charge at once, and was so active and so strenuous, that all things were provided much earlier than the king could have hoped for, not only in regard to troops, but also the ammunition, artillery, provisions, stores, &c. necessary for such an army.

Previous to Henry's taking the field, an army was first sent over to France under the Earl of Shrewsbury, who instantly commenced hostilities by undertaking the siege of Terouenne, whilst Wolsey actively hastened the royal preparations, yet not losing sight of his ecclesiastical interests in the bustle of warfare and pomp of chivalry: for, if the dates we have consulted are correct, he took care, that even during his absence he should secure whatever church vacancies might suit his purpose, in case of their falling in when he was not actually on the spot. Of his extreme care on this subject there is one instance on record, in the precentorship of St. Paul's, become vacant by the death of Gundissolvi Ferdinand, a foreign monk, and to which office he was collated on the 8th of July, though then actually with the army in France.

* Cavendish, MSS.

Every thing being prepared for the royal departure, by Wolsey's active care, and the queen having been appointed regent during the king's proposed absence on this campaign, both their majesties departed from Greenwich on the 15th of June, with a long train, consisting of the Duke of Buckingham; the Marquis of Dorset; the Earls of Northumberland, Essex, Kent, and Wiltshire; the Lords Audley, De la War, and Curzon; the prime minister and almoner, Wolsey; Fox, Bishop of Winchester; and many others of high rank and eminence. Proceeding by easy journeys, they arrived at Dover, from whence, after a short delay, his majesty and suite sailed for Calais, then in English possession, where he landed on the 30th of June, and was suitably received by Sir Gilbert Talbot, the governor.

Waiting at Calais only until the provisions and stores and some further reinforcements of troops should come over, Henry then departed with his force to join the English army already occupied in the siege of Terouenne, where he arrived on the 18th of July. The place was very strong; besides which it was rumoured that the French army was in full march to attack that of England: but Henry was not dismayed; and, mustering his little band of only 26,000 men, he quietly awaited the approach of the enemy.

It is a very curious fact, that although neither Fox nor Wolsey went over to France for the pur-

pose of fighting; yet so numerous were their attendants, as nearly to form the rear guard of the English army.

The French force was by no means so numerous at this moment as reported, being little more than an army of observation; yet they boldly resolved to make a dashing attempt to save the town; and accordingly, on the 16th of August, the whole of their cavalry, to the number of 8000 men, made a sudden and well-conducted attack on the English out-posts: but a sufficient number of troops were soon collected, and so well were the Frenchmen received, that their first assault was repulsed with the loss of six standards, many men, and officers, amongst whom was the then celebrated Duke of Longueville. So hot indeed was their reception, that they were soon broken and fled; and so rapid was their flight, so hard did they spur their horses, that the affair has ever since been designated, by historians, the *Battle of Spurs.*

Terouenne was carried by a fierce assault two days afterwards; and there Henry was met by the Emperor Maximilian, who not only brought a large army to his assistance, but took wages of the king also; or, in modern diplomatic language, accepted a subsidy.

Henry had no sooner got possession of Terouenne, than, by Wolsey's advice, he made every preparation for its preservation and defence, not only to secure a retreat, if necessary, but also to support

himself in the possession of Tournay, should it fall into his hands; an object of some importance to the almoner, as the revenues of its see were considerable, and its mitre, as Wolsey no doubt thought, expressly made to fit him.

The siege of Tournay was speedily undertaken on the 21st of September, and carried on so briskly, agreeable to the military ideas of that day, that it as speedily surrendered, when Henry instantly appointed his clerical friend to the see, as a reward for his activity and diligence; but as publicly announced, it was only in consequence of the French bishop refusing to swear fealty to the King of England, that Wolsey was appointed to supersede him. The citizens of Tournay were not, indeed, so scrupulous, for it appears, that immediately on its surrender, the new bishop, in his capacity of king's almoner, administered the oaths to upwards of 80,000.

It was on the 30th of September that Tournay surrendered, after which, in a council of war, many debates ensued as to the propriety of retaining that place. It appears, however, that Wolsey, upon this occasion, assisted at the council of war, and urged most strongly that Tournay should be kept as a trophy of the king's victory; and the rather so, because Julius Cæsar, in his Commentaries, acknowledged he nowhere met with so brave a resistance as at Tournay. Wolsey's advice was finally approved by the council; and the king

joining in the general opinion, determined to make a public entry into that city, even more splendidly than he did at Terouenne.

During the royal stay at Tournay, Henry was visited by the Archduke Charles, his nephew, afterwards Charles V., and by Margaret of Savoy, who came to congratulate him on his conquests; and according to Henry's taste and custom, they were entertained with splendid jousts and tournaments: but even amidst this royal gaiety Wolsey had more important game in view, and was busily engaged with the Duchess of Savoy, in preparing the treaty, called the Treaty of Tournay, which not only provided for carrying on the war against France, but for the marriage of the Archduke with the Princess Mary, Henry's youngest sister, afterwards Queen of France, and wife of the Duke of Suffolk.

Whilst Wolsey was thus engaged, the news of his sudden favour and political rise had found its way to Rome; and even Cardinal Baynbridge, the king's ambassador there, did not disdain to offer his congratulations, and to make his court through the new minister, as appears from the following letter to that effect:—

"Brother, master almoner, in my best manner I commend myself unto you, advertising you, that of truth, such honour and nobleness is here spoken of the king's grace, by reason of his most victorious enterprises against the enemies of the church, and his other demeanour, that his glory here is

esteemed to be immortal. It is to all his true subjects, lovers, and friends, joy and comfort inestimable, and you may well be assured it is no less pain and sorrow unto our common enemy, who here be utterly discouraged. Would our Lord Jesus it were my fortune conveniently to see there his Grace, you, and other my Lords, his noble company, in this his journey. I trust there liveth no man that be more desirous thereunto than I am; but in the meantime I shall heartily pray to God for the prosperous preservation of his Grace, you, and all his good company, and add the best and most diligent service I can do here for the same."

Henry had shown much apparent anxiety to return to his kingdom, even during the siege of Tournay, which evidently arose from the hostile preparations of his royal brother-in-law, James IV. of Scotland, for the invasion of England. But the battle of Flodden field, in which the Scottish monarch fell with most of his nobles, having taken place in the interim, and of which he received information on the 25th of September, he was relieved from all anxiety on that score, and thus enabled to enjoy his successes in France, which were much heightened by the rank and number of the prisoners whom he carried over with him, consisting of the Duke of Longueville, Viscount Clermont, and many others.

In short, having settled all affairs, civil, ecclesiastical, and military, he prepared for returning

to England; leaving Tournay on the 20th of November, accompanied by Wolsey, and sailing for Dover on the 24th, from whence, on his arrival, he instantly proceeded to Richmond.

The people were delighted with the royal successes; and so much was considered as owing to Wolsey's provident care and preparation, that not the slightest popular displeasure was manifested, when it was understood that he was really prime minister; nor were they at all dissatisfied with the continuance of the war, which was now carried on both by land and sea.

But it was not alone to naval warfare, as a secondary consideration, that Wolsey directed his views; for he had scarcely entered upon the active concerns of state, when he saw that the best defence of Britain, in the existing state of European politics, must be found in her navy. He also saw that much remained for England to acquire on the new theatre of unexplored oceans; he saw that she was best capable of extending her domains in new worlds; and he saw that to acquire and preserve these advantages, she must be mistress of the seas. He, therefore, encouraged the predilection which Henry seemed to have for nautical affairs; and his earliest advice to him was to form a navy royal. In consequence of which, the Henry Grace de Dieu, a ship of the greatest burden ever built in our ports, at that period, was laid on the stocks; and became a fa-

vourite hobby of the young monarch, as appears from a letter of Wolsey to Fox, still extant.

Wolsey's supremacy of power was, however, not yet arrived at its height; for even now we find him complaining to his patron Fox of various acts of state policy with which he was dissatisfied, in a letter which is extant, wherein he states that he could not write sooner on those subjects without sending half a relation; but he had then acquired the knowledge of some particulars, particularly in regard to Spain, from whence the Lord D'Arcy, with his troops, was then on the point of returning; and though a messenger, or envoy, from the King of Spain had come to assure Henry that the Spanish monarch swore he would never desist from the war, nor leave his son-in-law, till such time as he had obtained the crown of France for him, yet Wolsey appears to have put very little faith in these protestations. He then states a brilliant affair of the English fleet, which we shall present in his own words:—"We have received lamentable tidings of the mischance that happened to our people at sea, on Tuesday was fortnight, when they met with twenty French men of war (the best provided that any ships ever were); and after a desperate engagement, the Regent boarded the Carrick of Brest, wherein were four lords, three hundred gentlemen, eight hundred soldiers and seamen, four hundred cross-bow men, one hundred gunners, two hundred tons of wine, one

hundred pipes, sixty barrels of gunpowder, and other ammunition equivalent. In this action our men acquitted themselves so well, that they killed most part of the men within the ship; but as they were striking, the Carrick was on fire, which was so entangled with the Regent, that in less than three hours they were both burnt; and Sir Thomas Knyvett, who most gallantly acquitted himself on this occasion, was killed by a gun-shot: Sir John Carew and others, likewise, lost their lives. My lord, keep this secret, for no man yet knows it here save the king and myself. In short, you would marvel to see how wisely the king behaveth himself; I have not seen the like ——.

"P. S. The residue of the French fleet, on being chased, was put to flight; and, like cowards, fled into Brest harbour. Sir Edward Howard has vowed to God that he will never see the king's face till he has revenged the death of that noble and valiant knight, Sir Thomas Knyvett."

Notwithstanding his complaints of want of influence, it is not impossible that Wolsey's object may rather have been to *mystify* his old patrons, and to repress their jealousy of him, than to make serious representation of his want of importance at least very soon after the return from France, we find that his power began to display itself, even over the corporation of the metropolis, on occasion of a commotion which took place, under circumstances not uninteresting at the present day.

It appears that the people of Islington, of Hoxton, and of Shoreditch, had so enclosed their grounds, that it was considered as debarring the citizens from their accustomed freedom of walking and exercises; when the apprentices, then a powerful and united body, rose in a mass, and with various implements soon levelled the hedges and ditches that interrupted a free intercourse. It is said they were first incited to this by an individual, a turner by trade, who ran through the streets in a fool's coat, calling out for shovels and spades; and as so extensive a riot was allowed by the magistracy to take place, particularly from so small an excitement in the first instance, Sir George Monoux, the Lord Mayor, was sent for by Wolsey and reprimanded, *gently* some say, for not taking better care to preserve the peace of the city, and then dismissed with an exhortation, which is stated to have had the desired effect.

The new year's day of 1514 was to Wolsey a fortunate one, for on that day he was presented by his sovereign with the Bishopric of Lincoln, being thus first raised to an English mitre; and on this occasion he received the compliments of all the prelates, nobility, and gentry, then about the court, or in the metropolis, all eager to catch the smiles of the new favourite! Some annalists state, that Wolsey received the papal confirmation to his episcopal dignity on the 6th of February following; a rapidity of communication with

Rome not very likely in those days: but the fact seems to be *, that the pope's bull was signed on the 8th of the idès of that month, such being the date affixed to that document.

Notwithstanding the papal claims to high church jurisdiction in England, yet there were laws even then existing to keep them in check. One of the most important of which laws was the statute of premunire, which Henry actually put in force to a certain extent on this occasion; for the pope having sent over four bulls in regard to the bishopric, in one of which, accepted and acted on by Wolsey, he claims Lincoln for himself; but bestows it upon the favourite, as if the royal grant had been nought; the testy monarch, not relishing the existence of "Two Kings in Brentford," and feeling his own claim to church supremacy in his own dominions, he either in the anger of the moment, or perhaps merely wishing to mark his protest against papal arrogance, actually ordered the proper law proceedings under the statute; but stopped them, by his royal pardon to the new bishop, on the 4th of March following. That the king was not seriously displeased with Wolsey himself, we may infer from the fact of his delivering over to him, on the same day, the temporalities of the bishopric, although the consecration did not take place until the 26th, and then by proxy.

* Rymer, Fœd. xiii. 390.

On the following day, he resigned the precentorship of St. Paul's Cathedral, in which office he was succeeded by William Horsley, S. T. P; also, on the 1st of April, he vacated the church of Burwell, in Norwich diocese, of his appointment to which we find no record; resigning the almonry likewise, his successor being Richard Rawlins,' Prebendary of St. Paul's.

Thus rising in political and ecclesiastical power and influence, Wolsey was naturally looked up to by the two universities. Oxford, indeed, claimed him already as her own; and Cambridge appears anxious to participate in his favours. This was manifested by their choice of him to fill the vacant chancellorship of that university; a circumstance respecting which, however, there are two accounts rather contradictory. One account says, that it was the primary intention of the university to have elected Fisher, then Bishop of Rochester, to that office; but he declined it, and advised them, as more advantageous, to offer it to the Bishop of Lincoln—advice which they eagerly followed; for being doubtful of success, they not only endeavoured to persuade Fisher to become their advocate with Wolsey, but also applied to the Bishop of Winchester for the same purpose. To this application, however, Fox demurred, as he had actually been in expectation of an offer of that dignity to himself: he was not likely, therefore, to engage in persuading his former *protegée* to ac-

cept an office which he himself would have gladly grasped at. Another account states, that when Fisher declined the chancellorship, the king, by letter, offered it to Wolsey, who was elected, but through pride refused it, when the university re-elected Fisher to the office.

Indeed, Wolsey has been accused not only of pride, but of littleness of mind upon this occasion; as it is asserted that his real motive of refusal was the necessity he would have been under to furnish a mortuary sermon for the deceased Countess of Richmond, the king's grandmother, and foundress of St. John's College; a lady to whom he bore no good will, on account of the advice which she was supposed to have given her grandson on his first coming to the throne, warning him more particularly against the plausibility and hypocrisy of the new favourite than of any other individual.

Of the university records, upon this occasion, we can state that there is now, in the orator's book at Cambridge, the copy of a letter to Wolsey, paying him numerous compliments on his learning and virtues, announcing their choice of him as chancellor, and begging his acceptance of that office; to which there is an answer, in which he appears to decline their choice, without actually doing so, concluding with the following remarkable sentence:

"Reliqua a mandatis vestris magistratibus harum latoribus dedi vobis exponenda quibus eam

fidem habere rogamur perinde ac si coram loqueremur. Valete—" a style not much unlike that of a king, a fondness for which afterwards formed one of the principal charges on his impeachment.

Amongst other favours heaped upon Wolsey at this period by his royal patron, was a grant of half the advowson, in next reversion, of Bermondsey Abbey, in Southwark. The advowson of this Priorate was really in the monks; but, as Manning states, their election was not finally valid until confirmed by the king. Henry, however, without reference to this right of the monks, issued his letters-patent on the 24th June, 1514, granting the next advowson to Wolsey, then Bishop of Lincoln, and to John Reve de Melford, Abbot of St. Edmondsbury. Some doubt still remains, indeed, as to their acting upon the patent; at least, there is no record to show whether they were ever collated to the grant, or that it was resumed by the king. According to the value of money at that time, this grant was of some importance; for its annual revenue was about £550: its final surrender did not take place until 1541, long posterior to the Cardinal's death.

It has been justly observed that the year 1514 was fraught with honours and wealth for Wolsey, placing in his hands two bishoprics and one archiepiscopal see, in the course of twelve months*.

* That was by the ancient mode of reckoning the year from March to March.

The first of these was Tournay, already mentioned; and the second, the See of Lincoln (of which cathedral he was then already Dean), vacant by the demise of Dr. Smith. It seems that Wolsey never allowed the grass to grow under his feet, especially when ecclesiastical preferments were in view; and, on this occasion, his gentleman usher describes him as having been in as great haste to take possession of his episcopal chair, as he manifested on the presentation to his first Rectory of Lymington. Nay, it is even confessed that he went a little further; that he made all speed for his consecration, and the solemnization thereof being over, he found a way to get into his hands all his predecessor's goods, with which, or part of which, he furnished his own house: but we must still take this charge with some allowance, having seen that the presentation was on the 1st of January, and his consecration on the 26th of March.

Scarcely was Wolsey seated on his episcopal throne, when an archiepiscopal mitre, more palpable than Macbeth's air drawn dagger, started up to his ambitious view, by the demise of Dr. Baynbridge, Archbishop of York, who died whilst engaged on a diplomatic mission. For a primacy to be vacant, and unsought after by Wolsey, was a thing not be expected; that he should have obtained it without difficulty is equally plain: accordingly, no time was lost either in the transla-

tion*, or in the ceremony of installation, which latter, however, did not take place until the 3d of December, and then by proxy.

No sooner did he feel himself solemnly consecrated an archbishop, and primate of England, than his ambition led him, as all cotemporary writers assert, to set himself above the Primate of all England; so that he not only set up and advanced his cross in the limits of his own ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but boldly, indeed we may say impudently, even in the immediate jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury; notwithstanding that in all former times, it was "in ancient obedience of Yorke to abate advancement of his crosses, to the crosses of Canterbury."

For this, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Warham, gave him a severe check, telling him plainly that his conduct was presumptuous, which produced a serious quarrel and ill-will: Wolsey was, however, obliged for the moment to submit, but he soon after triumphed, on being appointed a Cardinal by the Pope's Bull.

Of this archiepiscopal promotion, an author, not very inimical to Wolsey, observes, that "A way for higher power and wealth was now opened to him by the death of Christopher Baynbridge,

* The grant in Rymer, Fœd. xiii. p. 412, is dated 5th of August.

Archbishop of York, then at Rome as the king's proctor or ambassador. That Baynbridge met his death by means of poison was by none denied; that Wolsey had something to do with it was by many suspected: yet if we may trust to the account given by Ciaconius, in his History of the Roman Pontiffs and Cardinals, the murder is accounted for without any blame attaching to the Cardinal. The statement of this author is that Baynbridge was poisoned by a priest, Rinaldo de Modena, whom he employed as his steward, and to whom he had given a blow; and this is confirmed by Paulus Jovius, who asserts that the priest made his confession to that purport at the place of execution, he having been taken up instantly on suspicion, and committed to prison, where he also attempted to destroy himself by poison."

It may also be noted that Ciaconius expressly describes Baynbridge to have been a man of most insolent and violent passions, and of great sourness of temper both to his servants and others.

Without pretending, at this distant period, to determine upon the truth or injustice of these accusations against Wolsey, we may observe that some circumstances connected with his elevation to the See of York are deserving of notice here, as developing the extraordinary ecclesiastical power which the popes were then in the habit of using in England, and already alluded to. Cardinal

Baynbridge was poisoned on the 14th of July; and on the very same day, the Cardinal de Medicis wrote to Henry himself to the following purport—

"Most Serene, most Invincible, and most Venerable Sir,

"After the humble recommendations of a good memory to the last, the Cardinal of York paid the debt which he owed to nature: the grief which I received on that occasion I am not able to express by words; for, besides that I regarded and loved him in no vulgar manner, our order has sustained a very great loss in the want of so great a father, and master: but since these things are from God, who is pleased with nothing but what is right, we must submit to his will, and entreat his mercy, that he may be thought worthy to receive the crozier to eternity. As I thought it a part of my duty, *I immediately attended our Most Holy Father, and beseeched him that he would not dispose of his late Eminency's benefice till he knew your Majesty's pleasure, which I easily obtained from his Holiness, through his great and paternal benevolence and affection for your Majesty.* For my own part, I will in no sort depart from my institution, and my duty towards your majesty——."

So far indeed did Henry at this period submit to the overwhelming claims of the Roman Pontiff, notwithstanding his own claims to the supremacy, that he was content to ask the vacancy for his prime

minister from his Holiness, even after this announcement; who not only acquiesced in the demand, but also sent a bull to Wolsey, commencing with the proud and papal declaration, of "the accustomed clemency of the Apostolical See, lest the dispositions made by her, relating to metropolitan churches, should in any respect be impugned; but that the persons translated to them may, with a pure heart, and sincere conscience, preside over them, She administers, as is proper, seasonable remedies." What these seasonable remedies are is explained in a succeeding paragraph, where His Holiness says—"with the advice of our brethren, and the fulness of apostolical power, we have resolved to absolve you from the ties which you acknowledge to bind you to preside over the church of Lincoln, and to transfer you to that of York, at present in some manner destitute of pastoral comforts, of which church we appoint you archbishop and pastor."

Notwithstanding this full gift of His Holiness, Henry still seems to have kept his eye upon several good things connected with the archbishopric; for in conferring favours he was not unmindful of his own interests, generally reserving patronage: and even in this case from Wolsey himself, though stated by Hall, in his Chronicle, to have "at that time been all the rule about the king, and what he said was obeyed in all places;"—but Wolsey readily yielded, for he well knew that he must

bend to some, in order to rise over others; and that such was his ambition now, even beyond an archbishopric, we may infer from a succeeding observation of the same author, who says that "when he was once *Archbishop*, he studied day and night how to be a *Cardinal*, and caused the king and the French king to write to Rome for him, and at their requests he obtained his purpose."—

At this period indeed he could not fail of the active assistance of Louis, when we recollect that the negotiations for his marriage with the youthful Princess Mary, the king's youngest sister, were now in great forwardness at the English court: and the French monarch was careful, even as early as the 2d of September, to send him a letter of congratulation on his elevation to the Prelacy; the Bull from Leo, however, absolving him from the oaths, &c., for Lincoln, and confirming the election for York, not arriving in England until the 7th of October, which was published to the chapter, clergy, and people, of that arch-see, on the 3d of December following, when he was installed, by proxy, in that cathedral.

But we must go back a little to notice the official part which Wolsey took in arranging the marriage of the Princess Mary with Louis of France; it is sufficient now to state that the marriage was solemnized by proxy in England, in the month of August, when a special messenger was sent off with the intelligence. This produced

a frequent exchange of couriers, one of whom brought over a letter to Wolsey from Louis himself, which is curious enough to merit insertion.

"My Lord of York,

"What I have learned, by the return of the courier from your side, determines me not to let him set out again without my letters to you, by which I affectionately pray you to make my good and cordial recommendations to the king and queen, my good brother and sister; and also to the queen, my wife. I likewise pray you to do what you can that my delightful spouse may set out from thence as soon as possibly it may be; for there is nothing in the world I so much desire as to see her, and to be with her. In this you will do me pleasure, and oblige me more and more, praying God, my Lord, &c. The 2d of September.

"LOUIS."

But politicians are not so hasty as lovers, and accordingly great part of September was occupied only in preparations for the princess's journey, and in the ratification of treaties; yet we are not to suppose that Wolsey was really dilatory in this affair, for in a subsequent letter we find Louis thus addressing him.—

"And as to what you write about the passage of the queen, my wife, I give you thanks for the pains that you have taken for providing all things necessary for her voyage, and the extraordinary diligence you have used, and still use, as my Lord

of Marigny, and Johan de Paris, have wrote, beseeching you to continue your care with as much expedition as you can, because the greatest desire I have at present is to see her on this side the water, and to meet her. In contributing to which, without loss of time, as you promised me, you will do me a singular pleasure, and such as I shall always remember, and think myself obliged to you for. And as to your having detained the said Lord de Marigny, and Johan de Paris, to assist you in setting out all things à la mode de France, you have done me much pleasure therein, and I have written by these presents to them, that not only in this they should obey you, but also in all other things you shall command, with the same respect as if they were about my person.

"And as to the pleasure which you inform me, by your said letters, my wife takes in hearing good-news from me, and that the thing which she daily desires is to see me, and be in my company, I desire you, my Lord of York, and good friend, to inform her from me, and make her sensible, that my desires and wishes are the same and in every respect like hers; and, because it is not possible that I should see her so soon as I could wish, I entreat her that, as often as may be, I may hear from her, and I promise the like on my side."

There is certainly something ludicrous in a prime minister and an archbishop being thus made an amatory go-between; and it is probable that

Wolsey was not very fond of the part which his ambition obliged him to play: from this, however, he was at length relieved by the departure of the princess to join her royal husband in France, which took place in October; and no sooner was the marriage solemnized than Louis again wrote to Wolsey, stating in the highest terms how much he was obliged to him for the part he had taken in this matrimonial negotiation.

Nor is this to be wondered at, or considered as mere matter of compliment; for it is well authenticated, that the whole court of France were particularly struck with the beauty of their new queen; and as for Lewis himself, a French historian expressly says, that "he gave himself over too much to behold her most admirable beauty, not considering her youth (being but eighteen), and his own weak, decayed body."

From the queen herself too he received a letter which shows that, with all their admiration of her charms, the Frenchmen were not disposed to treat her with that degree of *bienseance*, which they claim exclusively for themselves, dismissing the greatest part of her retinue almost immediately after the nuptials and coronation. In fact, of all those who came with her from England, there were left only a few officers, and attendants, amongst the latter of whom was the afterwards celebrated Anne Boleyn; so that she complained to Wolsey, stating—"the day I was married my

servants were discharged, which gave me no small uneasiness; I wish, instead of the Duke of Norfolk, who has been too condescending to the French, your grace had been entrusted to conduct me to France."

The new archbishop no sooner had time to attend to his own concerns than he took possession of York-Place, which seems, by the oldest maps of London, to have stood somewhere between the present sites of Northumberland House and White Hall, then in a very ruinous condition; but such were his means, such his activity, and such his love of, and skill in architecture, that all the necessary repairs, including the pulling down and rebuilding of many parts of a very extensive edifice, were completed, and the palace rendered fit for reception, in the course of a year.

He also further gratified his love of architectural splendour by commencing, about this period, the erection of Hampton Court Palace, of which some of the original parts still remain, independent of that portion built by William III.

Of this place he had become lessee, in the early part of Henry's reign, from the prior of the convent of Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, to whom it had been granted in fee, previous to the year 1211, by the Lady Joan, relict of Sir Robert Grey.

The castellated form, adopted by Wolsey in the erection of Hampton Court, was perfectly in coin-

cidence with the manners of the time, when comfort was becoming an object of consideration, instead of confining every effort in the science of architecture, as Dallaway observes in his elaborate work on the Arts, to ecclesiastical or military structures, paying little attention to external beauty or commodiousness in the private habitations of men. In fact, up to the dynasty of the Tudors, when castellated houses became fashionable, instead of the gloomy towers and turrets of earlier times, we have no specimens whatever of plain, simple dwelling-houses; but at the period in question, nothing particularly military can be traced in new residences, generally, except the battlements and turrets, solely adopted as ornaments of dignity, not of defence.

Dallaway observes further, that of architecture, which, adopting a military appearance, displayed likewise the magnificence and convenience of a private dwelling, Hampton Court may be considered as a striking specimen, exhibiting also a scene of the most gorgeous expense.

Yet, in the midst of such extensive private concerns, public affairs were not forgotten; indeed it is even acknowledged by Rapin, who was by no means a friend to him, that Henry, before his actual ministry, was imposed upon in all treaties with foreign powers, from the incompetency of his cabinet and diplomatists: but as soon as Wolsey came into power, which he states to have been

when made archbishop, then all gross errors were corrected, the new minister carefully guarding his sovereign against all dishonourable treaties, and equally careful to act in all respects in such a way that England should not, as hitherto, be rendered the sport of foreign diplomatists, or contemptible in the eyes of strangers.

But, amidst this bustle of politics, Wolsey still found leisure for literature and its cultivators; and although the general acquisition of knowledge in England was that which he had most to dread in behalf of his own ambitious views, his love of learning sometimes overcame his ambition, particularly in regard to the valuable Greek MSS. which were now discovered daily amidst the rubbish of monkish superstition, and lodged in the library of the Vatican, of which it was his intention to have copies taken for the English universities.

This literary patronage was extended even to those whom he knew to be friendly to the Reformation; for that he did not forget his old friends is evident from his attentions to the learned Erasmus, at this period Greek professor at Cambridge, who was now in England upon his second visit, and travelled from Cambridge to London to congratulate his old college companion on his elevation to the mitre. On his arrival he was received in the handsomest manner by Wolsey, who not only gave to him hopes of an appointment to the first vacant canonry at Tournay, but also

assigned him a pension, to encourage him in the prosecution of his studies, which he long enjoyed with others from Lord Montjoy, a particular friend of Wolsey, from Bishop Fisher, and Archbishop Warham.

These attentions were met with equal gratitude on the part of Erasmus; who, during the whole course of his epistolary correspondence, seems anxious to do every honour to Wolsey, not only in regard to his great abilities, but also with respect to the wisdom and rectitude of his administration. In one of his letters written about this time, he says, " your highness," (thus addressing the favourite nearly in the style of majesty, as used at that period), " in the happy administration of the most flourishing kingdom upon earth, are not less necessary to the king your master than Theseus was formerly to Hercules, and Achates to Æneas;" giving him credit at the same time for his great diplomatic exertions in regulating the peace of Europe.

Yet Wolsey has been accused of very active hostility to those who either favoured the Reformation, or attempted to resist the claims of clerical power. There had been for many years a standing contest between the two powers of the civil and ecclesiastical state, in regard to the exemption of the clergy from the cognizance of temporal courts in spiritual cases; and about this period a merchant tailor of the city of London,

named Hunn, was a strenuous advocate for the superiority of the civil power, and having refused to pay a mortuary, was cited for the same into a spiritual court by the clergyman demanding it. Hunn instantly prosecuted his antagonist, on a premunire; but his prosecution was over-ruled by the judges, rather, perhaps, against the expectation of the clergy, as they had contrived to get up a charge of heresy against him: for this he was taken up, and, as it appears, imprisoned in the Tower, where, some time after, he was found dead—murdered indeed, as popular report declared, by the active connivance of the clergy, and in which Wolsey was accused of having too deeply participated. From this charge Fiddes has laboured very hard to exonerate him; and he certainly shows, from incontrovertible dates, that the charge so brought was unfounded in many respects, particularly in regard to dates and circumstances; the affair being represented, even in its most favourable point of view, as an abuse of the legatine power; when, in fact, Wolsey was not even cardinal when the event took place.

But there is perhaps more truth in the allegation, that some misunderstanding existing at the moment between the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, he was particularly anxious and active in fomenting it; not from any partiality to Suffolk, but that he might the more effectually serve his own interests and those of his old friend, the Bishop of

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Winchester, could he, by means of this quarrel, contrive to lessen the esteem which Henry still retained for the Duke of Norfolk, though Suffolk was certainly the greatest personal favourite of the two.

At or about this period, and soon after the marriage of Mary, the king's sister, with Louis of France, the latter monarch established a fête of jousts and tournaments, to which all the youthful chivalry of Europe were invited. To these jousts Suffolk was very anxious to go; but his request to the king for leave had been thwarted by Norfolk, nor did he obtain permission until he had solicited Wolsey's interference. It was on this occasion that Suffolk so distinguished himself in the eyes of the young Queen of France as to lead to a marriage, which will be detailed in its proper place.

Indeed on the very first day of the ensuing year, 1515, Louis died, leaving Mary a widow; a loss which Henry soon forgot in the birth of a princess (Mary), on the 8th of February, at Greenwich, where she was baptized a few days afterwards, Wolsey having the honour to stand Godfather upon the occasion, but with the Duchess of Norfolk as Godmother.

It was on the 5th of February, 1515, that Wolsey, in the fifth parliament of the reign, first took his seat on the episcopal bench in the House of Lords; but there is no record of his parliamentary

exertions, nor indeed were the proceedings of the legislature of any great moment during that session, with the exception of an act, declaring that no member of the lower house should depart from the parliament before the end of the session, without license first obtained of the house; and the licence to be entered upon record by the clerk of the parliament, *under penalty of losing their stipend!*

This presents a curious picture of home politics, as contrasted with affairs of the present day; and it is further worthy of notice, that a most constitutional reason was advanced, even at the time, for the passing of that particular act. It was urged, that it frequently happened towards the close of a session, that various members, true lovers of their country, were in the practice of returning home, apprehending that all matters of moment were then gone through; when, in fact, their absence was taken advantage of, by individuals procuring the passing of bills, which would never have been tolerated in full houses.

But if Wolsey had no field for exertion in parliamentary tactics, he was not idle in ecclesiastical affairs, earnestly soliciting Henry to preserve and to confirm all the ancient privileges of the see of Tournay. Of course he could not fail of success in his solicitations, which gave great satisfaction to the chapter of that church; so much so indeed, that as they expressed themselves, they only

wished for an opportunity of testifying their gratitude and respect. For this an opportunity soon offered, Wolsey recommending to them a young student to be preferred to some ecclesiastical benefice, which they immediately complied with; answering to his recommendation, that they were exceeding glad of a letter from his grace, and so much the more, that they had thereby the opportunity they had long sought for of expressing their high respect for his grace; not that they could repay any thing answerable to his benefits towards them, but as it was fit to declare in some sort their gratitude for his paternal care, and to acknowledge the extraordinary honour and singular observance they had to the same, they unanimously consented to his request, and yielded to him whatever he desired, there being nothing that they would not do for his sake.

From the strength of expression used upon this occasion, one might suppose that the dean and chapter were anxious not only to manifest their gratitude to and deference for their bishop, but also to find some excuse for themselves for conferring an ecclesiastical benefice upon an object who might not be very well fitted for it. In short, we suspect that the person thus recommended, though his name is not recorded, was *Winter*, supposed to be an illegitimate son of Wolsey, who began very early in life to revel in the good things of the church.

But if the chapter were not very tenacious of the due exercise of their sacerdotal power, yet they were sufficiently so of their pecuniary concerns, as was evinced in an affair which soon after took place, when the canons having received a sum of money, Dr. Sampson, who was Wolsey's vicar-general at the see, conceived that a part of it belonged to his master, and claimed it accordingly. To these claims the canons could not assent, but wrote to Wolsey, to assure him that the money, though paid into their treasury, could not possibly belong to his grace, being particularly appropriated to the repairs of the church, and other religious uses, which had been granted to them by an apostolical decree. Still, though they refused the money, were they anxious, if possible, to avert Wolsey's displeasure, and to preserve his friendship; and, accordingly, they attempted to soften down the refusal by a promise that whatever could be expected from them, his most faithful beadsmen, should be performed—a promise which might be considered as every thing and as nothing, and which Wolsey knew the world too well not to understand in its proper bearing.

It was about this period that a counter-bishop, or bishop elect, as he was called, had been appointed to the see of Tournay, in opposition to Wolsey, whom the French party wished to displace: and we find it recorded, that when Sampson, as vicar-general, visited various towns in

Flanders, within the limits of the diocese, for the purpose of collecting the episcopal dues, he met with very irreverent and impertinent treatment from the different municipalities; for in each place the bishop elect had already made similar claims, which they were most disposed to comply with.

Indeed, so sturdy were those officers in their refusals, that Sampson wrote to Wolsey, to say that if he wished quietly to enjoy the administration of that see, he must persuade the French king to put a check upon the conduct of the bishop elect. That the point of resistance to Wolsey was a serious one, is evident from Sampson feeling it necessary to point out to him, that if he were to follow a process of law for the recovery of his dues, and the bishop elect were to defend the cause, it might be attended with infinite inconvenience to him; but, in the mean time, as the officers had requested a short respite in regard to payment, in order that they might consult the bishop elect, he had granted the request, hoping that in the interim the interposition of the French king would render all further proceedings unnecessary.

This opposition on the part of the municipalities was in direct disobedience of the pope's brief of confirmation, when Wolsey was first appointed to the bishopric; but when Dr. Sampson urged, in defence of its legality in unison with ecclesiastical customs, that the see had been virtually vacant at

the time of Wolsey's appointment, and that the *new* bishop elect's absence and desertion of the bishopric was cause sufficient to justify all that the pope had been pleased to grant to the former, they answered, that what the bishop elect had done at that period was in time of necessity, and for his own safety, the city being then in the hands of the English. It might have been urged in return, however, that the bishop elect would not have incurred any danger, had he stayed and taken the necessary oaths to the new government; and that Wolsey would not have been appointed to supersede him, had he not actually made a vacancy, by refusing the necessary oath of allegiance, the choice of staying having already been offered to him.

Instead, however, of Wolsey receiving any benefit from the delay, or being able to procure any countenance in the cause from the French king, the advantage lay all with the opposite party, who were fortunate enough to find Adrian, Bishop of Bath, and then the king's orator at Rome, so jealous of, and so unfriendly to Wolsey's cause, as to suffer them without the slightest opposition to obtain a bull from the pope in favour of the bishop elect; on which the latter plumed himself so much, that he now demanded the revenues of the see under the penalty of anathema, more especially as the bull itself was addressed to all Christian princes to assist him with their forces, in order to

replace him in his bishopric, under pain of excommunication. Affairs were at last carried with so high a hand, that Dr. Sampson was forced to write to Wolsey, that unless effectual means were taken to suppress or set aside that bull, it would be impossible for him any longer to be of service to him at Tournay; a piece of intelligence which took him quite by surprise, since his spies had totally failed him on this point; and he had not, as yet, received any information respecting the double part thus played by the pope and conclave.

In the whole of this affair, Henry felt his own dignity outraged, in addition to the wrong put upon his favourite; accordingly he wrote a strong expostulatory letter to his holiness, in which he plainly told him that his proceedings were contrary to the laws of God and man; he also informed the Bishop of Bath, that if he did not procure the revocation of the bull, he should be superseded by one who would be more attentive to the trust reposed in him.

By these and similar remonstrances, not only was the bull revoked, but another more favourable obtained; and shortly afterwards Wolsey found himself again in quiet possession of his Tournay bishopric. But the pope had already begun to dread the independent spirit of the English clergy, who, when he demanded an extraordinary subsidy, on pretence of a war with the Turks, plainly told him, in full synod, that the

popes could lay no imposition on the clergy without a general council!

Still was there that resistance to Wolsey throughout the bishopric, that Dr. Sampson again wrote to him in May, to assure him that the only way to secure the quiet and tranquil possession of his ecclesiastical dignity would be to procure a resignation on the part of his rival, through the interference of the French monarch, Francis I., who had succeeded to Louis XII. At the same time, he recommended that a pension should be granted to the bishop elect, till he might be otherwise provided for in France, Francis promising that he should have one of the first promotions that might fall. This is stated by that churchman to be the safest and most godly way, in consideration that the bishop elect, being deprived of his benefice, had nothing else to live upon.

Henry still continued to heap favours on his minister, and accordingly we find a grant of the 9th of May, conferring on Wolsey the keeping of all the manors of Sir Ralph Bygod, deceased, by reason of the minority of his son Francis, together with the marriage of the latter. The king also laboured hard at Rome, by his ambassadors, to procure a place for his favourite in the conclave of cardinals; and, accordingly, he was declared a member of the sacred college by the pope in full consistory, on the 11th of September; when Francis I. of France, being then in Italy, and

willing to assume some merit to himself on this occasion, actually sent to him the first notice of his promotion.

Henry having become possessed of the manor of Woking, in Surry, amongst other estates that came to him by the death of his grandmother, the Countess of Richmond, had used it at times as a temporary summer retreat; and Grafton relates, that in the middle of September in this year, 1515, he repaired to his manor of Okyng, and thither came to him the Archbishop of York; and it was during his residence here that he received the notification from the papal court of his being elected to the rank of cardinal.

One of our old Chronicles, in describing this event, says, that "in the myddle of September, 1515, the kynge in his progress came to the manor of Okyng, and thither came to hym the Archbyshop of Yorke, whom he hartely welcomed, and showed him grete pleasures. And while he sojourned there, a letter was broughte to the archbyshop from Rome, certefying him how he was elected to be a cardynell, which incontinent showed the same to the kynge, disabling himselfe in wordes, thoughe his entent was otherwise; and so the kynge did encourage hym, and wylled hym to take the ordre on hym."

But this backwardness on the part of the priest was evidently more the result of policy than of modesty; and, accordingly, we find that no sooner

had the pope's bull arrived, constituting Wolsey Cardinal of St. Cecilia, and Legate (*Legatus de Lateris*), than he caused preparations to be made for his installation in Westminster Abbey, more like a triumph or a coronation, than as a servant of Jesus Christ, the meek and lowly Lord of all. To this ceremony all the bishops in England were summoned; and they were obliged to appear in their mitres, and all other episcopal ornaments, to give greater *eclat* to the ceremony, and to convince them, by actual demonstration, of the superiority which the new Cardinal was determined to exercise over them.

We have seen it stated, that previous to this ceremony, Wolsey's cross had actually been set before that of Canterbury, by royal mandate; that, however, was now unnecessary, as the Cardinal's cross must have had pre-eminence, though it is probable the order of precedence did take place, and remained still in force, as Wolsey now always set forth two crosses, one for his *hat*, the other for his mitre, which were always borne before him wherever he went, either on horseback or otherwise, by two of the tallest and stoutest priests whom he could procure.

There is rather a whimsical anecdote related of Wolsey, in regard to this cardinal's hat; for we are told, that although "the pope sent him this worthie hat of dignitie, as a jewell of his honour and authoritie;" yet such was either the negli-

gence or the poverty of the holy see, that it "was conveyed in a varlett's budget, who seemed to all men to be but a person of small estimation."

No sooner, however, was the Cardinal informed of this fact, and of the people's opinion at Dover, where the messenger had landed, than he felt it necessary, for the honour of so high a message, "that this jewell should not be conveyed by so simple a person."

Accordingly, with true jesuitical cunning, he directed that the messenger should be stopped on his route to town, until he should be furnished with sumptuous apparel of silk, gold, &c. as was meet for an embassy of such high importance. This priestly scarecrow was no sooner equipped in his new costume, than he recommenced his journey, and was met on Blackheath by a gorgeous train of bishops, mitred abbots, and gentlemen of the first rank; from whence he was conducted into the metropolis with a degree of triumph, as surprising to the once ragged messenger, as amusing to those who were in the secret.

But there was good policy in this on the part of Wolsey, who wished to give all the *eclat* possible to his new rank; in furtherance of which he had every thing prepared in Westminster Abbey for the public confirmation and acceptance of this high sacerdotal office; where the service usual on such occasions was performed with all solemnity

and splendour; by all the bishops and abbots who could be readily assembled, all attired in their copes and mitres; and, in fact, with a degree of state which had never been seen in England, except at a royal coronation.

This occurrence is stated even more pointedly by Tindal *, who, speaking of his promotion to the cardinalate, says, "Not farre unlike to this was the receiving of the Cardinal's hatte, which, when a ruffian had brought unto him to Westminster, under his cloke, he clothed the messenger in rich array, and sent him backe to Dover again, and appoynted the Bishop of Canterbury to meete him, and then another company of lordes and gentles, I wotte not how oft, ere it came to Westminster, where it was set on a cupborde and tapers about, so that the greatest duke in the lande must make curtesie thereto: yea, and to his empty seat, he being away."

We suspect there is too much truth in the general accusations against Wolsey, that such was his insolence after receiving the cardinalate, that Norfolk and other nobles retired from the court in disgust. Even his old friend and patron, Fox, Bishop of Winchester, threw up the privy seal; and, on taking leave, cautioned the king not to make any of his subjects greater than himself: to which Henry answered very shortly, that he knew well how to keep all his subjects in subjection.

* Tindal's Works, p. 374.

Hall also states, that "when once he was a perfect Cardinal, he looked then above all estates, so that all men almost hated him, and disdained him."

We may suppose, however, that all this pride was not natural in his heart, but must have been worked up by the circumstances of his sudden rise, and most probably by the very nature of his office and official oath; which, by separating his allegiance from his king, and transferring it to the Roman pontiff, induced him really to imagine himself a more important personage than even his royal patron.

It is an important consideration, particularly at the present day, that the allegiance of the Roman Catholic clergy in England has always been stronger towards the pope than even towards their own monarch—a truth which may be fairly stated, yet still not taxing them with active disloyalty. The clerical oaths which they are obliged to take naturally lead to this; let us then look at part of Wolsey's oath, which pledged him to take no part in any business, "neither in council, in deed, or in treaty, in which any thing shall be contemplated against *our Lord*, or the Romish church, nor prejudicial to it in person, rights, honours, state, or power. If such things I shall know to be procured or treated for, I shall hinder them as much as I can; and, as often as possible, I shall give notice of the same to *our Lord*. Heretics,

schismatics, and rebels to *our Lord*, and to his successors, I shall prosecute and contend against as far as in my power *."

Wolsey also gave great offence by his superb dress; for his upper vesture was of scarlet, or else of fine crimson taffeta, or crimson satin ingrained. He also wore red gloves, along with his red hat, and shoes of silver gilt, set with pearls and precious stones: and we are told, that when Dr. Barnes was first brought before Wolsey, and admitted into his chamber, on some charge about preaching against the luxury of the clergy, he was obliged to fall upon his knees, when the Cardinal is said to have exclaimed, "What, master doctor, had you not sufficient scope in the scriptures to preach on, but you must meddle with my golden shoes, my poleaxes, my pillars, my golden cushion, my crosses? Did these so offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people? Surely that sermon was fitter for a stage than a pulpit!"

The appointment of Wolsey to the bishopric of Tournay, as we have already stated, seems to have given great offence to the pope, or to the cardinals who formed his court and council; and a short time before Wolsey's elevation to the cardinalate, a bull had been issued against Henry on that subject, which excited much displeasure in the breast of the king, and induced him to write a very

* Rymer, Fœd. xiii. 453.

angry remonstrance to the Bishop of Bath, then resident ambassador at the papal court. Henry tells his representative, that it was not only his duty to solicit and to expedite all such causes and matters as might be entrusted to him from time to time, but also vigilantly to guard and foresee that nothing should take place prejudicial or hurtful to the crown, or to the realm, or derogatory to the royal dignity; yet all these, he complained, had taken place under the abovementioned bull, in favour of the French bishop of that see, elected in opposition to Henry's appointment of Wolsey.

The king then directs the ambassador to urge several heads of remonstrance, one of which, in direct reference to the Cardinal, is thus expressed: "Fiftly, hee (the pope) hath revoked the authoritie and administration of that see, by him granted at our instance to the most reverend father in God, the Cardinall Archbishop of Yorke, withoute care of his knowledge or consent; wheras if any one of us both had bin called therunto, wee would and might have showen sufficient grounds and causes, according to the premisses, why hee might not so doe; for wee remember well that one of the causes principallie movynge the pope to grante the authoritie of administration of the said bishoprick to the said Cardinal, was for as much as the sayde pretendyd bishopp had neither made his homage nor fideletie for his temporalities, nor yet

done his dutye or releve for the same, which cause yet remaineth, the said bishopp not only neglectynge and refusynge to doe the same, but alsoe conspyrynge against us as a disobedient and traitorous subject: and if the pope's said holiness shall by those sinister wayes more favour such rebels than us, that have donne so much for the church, or yet the said Cardinall beeing an honorable member of the said church, and congenyall of the college, it will give small courage to princes either to obey his processes, or yet to assist him in his necessitie."

Much light has been recently thrown on this affair, and on that also of the cardinalate, by Mr. Roscoe, in his Life of Leo X.; who, speaking on this subject, says, that Wolsey, on succeeding to the Archbishopric of York, felt that the preferment, though it increased his revenues, did not satisfy his ambition; having flattered himself, that along with it he should also have obtained the cardinal's hat worn by his predecessor. He adds, that in soliciting from the pope this distinguished favour, Wolsey had relied much on the assistance of Adrian, Bishop of Bath, and a cardinal, then the pope's collector in England; under whom, as the cardinal resided at Rome, Polidor Virgil acted as sub-collector. Adrian being either unable or unwilling to render the expected service, such was the resentment of Wolsey, who conceived that he had been betrayed by him, that under some trivial

pretence, he seized upon his deputy Polidor, and committed him to the Tower.

Repeated representations on this subject were made from the court of Rome to that of England; but although the Cardinal Giulio de Medici, and the pope himself, had written to the king, requesting the liberation of their agent, he still remained in confinement.

Mr. Roscoe seems to consider this as having been the efficient cause of Wolsey's papal expulsion from Tournay, and he, following in a great measure Lord Herbert's authority, proceeds to state that the apparent disrespect thus manifested by the English monarch towards the Holy See induced the pontiff to listen to the representations of Francis I. of France, who was extremely earnest to obtain the restoration of Louis Guillard, ex-bishop of Tournay, to that rich benefice, of which he had been deprived by the intrusion of Wolsey.

The subsequent elevation to the cardinalate procured the liberation of Polidor; but Wolsey still refused to resign his claims to Tournay: and it is hinted by the elegant writer, already quoted, that he is *supposed* to have stimulated his sovereign to a new quarrel with Francis, for the purpose of affording himself a pretext for retaining the emoluments of his see.

It has indeed been elsewhere stated positively, that Wolsey discovered by spies at Rome, that Francis had espoused the cause of the ex-bishop

most warmly, and solicited the pope for the bull promulgated in his favour. Incensed at this, the vindictive prelate persuaded Henry to violate the treaty of peace he had made only a few months before, and to form a new confederacy with Maximilian and Ferdinand of Spain against France.

If this be true, the pope must himself have been deceived; for there is a letter extant from him to Wolsey, of the 12th of October, 1515, in which he strongly recommends to him to increase, as much as possible, the friendship with Ferdinand of Arragon, and Joan of Castile.

This much is clear, in regard to this affair, that when parliament met on the 12th of November, Wolsey dared not then disclose his hostile designs against France, nor was it until forty days afterwards that a bill was brought into the House of Peers for a subsidy, there read once, and then carried by Archbishop Warham to the House of Commons, where it, most probably, met with an unfavourable reception: for parliament was dissolved on the ensuing day, 22d of December. On the same day Warham resigned; and after that, no parliament was called until the 31st of July, 1523.

Wolsey seems to have been fated to act the part of an advocate in the court of Cupid, and was again called on in that capacity by the young queen dowager of France, soon after the demise of Louis XII. To understand this thoroughly, we must advert to some early circumstances connected with

that princess, who at an early age was affianced to the Archduke Charles, afterwards Charles V., the contract being confirmed in 1514, and a time fixed for the solemnization of the nuptials. But this contract soon became matter of neglect, principally perhaps from the extreme youth of the proposed bridegroom; so that many of the young nobility of the first rank actually had the hardihood to think of marriage with the young, and, as it is said, most beautiful princess.

Amongst those, however, there was but one that had any chance of winning her love, and that was Charles Brandon, Earl, and afterwards Duke of Suffolk. He was remarkable for personal beauty and activity, with an air and manner befitting his rank, and a sweetness of temper and disposition that rendered him a great favourite with all, but more especially with the ladies. He was besides in constant habits of intimacy at court; and it has been said, that in a short time the princess became so much enamoured of him, that it was apparent to the world, and publicly spoken of. This affection was met with equal warmth on the part of Suffolk, so that the courtiers were induced to speak of it loud enough for the king to hear; but Henry only laughed at the affair, although he did not exactly approve of it. That under such circumstance of disapproval he should still have permitted the affair to go on has been thus accounted for.

It has been observed that, with all his partiality,

he did not set so high a value upon Brandon as to make him his brother-in-law, though he had a greater kindness for him than for any others of his courtiers, with the exception of Wolsey; but still he was in hopes to draw some advantage from the inequality of this amour, which he thought would exasperate the amorous youthful lords against the princess, and cause them to desist any more looking after her: besides which, he fancied himself so much master of his sister and Suffolk, that no serious steps would be taken by either of them without his consent.

In this state of affairs the French Duke de Longueville, an hostage, proposed his master, Louis XII., as a candidate for her hand—an offer which, as we have seen, met with the hearty concurrence of Henry, as leading to peace and amity between the two countries; for which purpose the king at once referred him to Wolsey, when the matter was so well managed, that the latter received directions to prepare the draft of a treaty both of peace and marriage.

We find it recorded that Mary readily submitted to her brother's will, and, tempted, perhaps, by the prospect of a crown, endeavoured to conquer her first love, and to forget the gallant Brandon for a royal but aged lover. That she did not submit unwillingly is clear from the fact that the zeal and readiness which Wolsey displayed upon this occasion, only for the good of the nation as they ima-

gined, was yet so acceptable to the princess, that she repeatedly expressed how highly she was satisfied with his conduct. In the minds of some, however, a doubt now arose respecting the contract with Charles of Austria: but the two monarchs did not feel any difficulty upon the subject, nor even deem it necessary to have a dispensation from the pope; and, as for Mary herself, she made a declaration before a notary public, and other witnesses, that she had been forced to plight her faith to Charles, and that he had promised to espouse her by proxy, and "per verba de presente," as soon as he should be fourteen years of age, but he had broken his word; and, as she was credibly informed that the counsellors and confidants of the Archduke were instilling into his mind, to the utmost of their power, an aversion for the King of England, her brother, so she declared that she was now advised that she was free from that contract, and at liberty to marry any other prince, in spite of it: a declaration which was followed up, two days afterwards, by a ratification of the treaty of marriage. Suffolk now lost all hopes; yet he was one of those who attended Mary to France, where he displayed the greatest skill and gallantry in all the jousts and tournaments, as already hinted at, that were celebrated upon the occasion; during which an occurrence happened, which deserves notice. It is related in a letter from the Marquis of Dorset,

who says,—" The French highly commendeth my Lord of Suffolk, and say that no Christian prince has two such servants as we two, both for peace and war, in field and council. My Lord and I ran three days and lost nothing. On Saturday the 18th of November, the Tournay and course in the field began: my Lord of Suffolk and I ran the first day ourselves; then put our aids to it, because there were no noblemen to run with us. On the 21st, the fighting on foot began, when they put an Almain (German) that never came into the field before, against my Lord of Suffolk, to have put us to shame, but could not."

As soon as Louis died, which was only eighty days after the celebration of his nuptials, and already slightly recorded, the young queen dowager declared that she would return to England; and in the meantime she received letters of condolence from Henry, in which he particularly advised her not to enter into any new contract of marriage without his knowledge and consent. Wolsey also wrote to her in pointed terms, and entreated her to conform herself to her brother's advice.

To these epistles the young queen returned a spirited answer; that she protested, that if the king would have her marry in any place, save where her mind was, she would shut herself up in some religious house; a reply that made considerable impression upon Henry's mind: and he therefore attended at once to her wish to return

to England, sending over, for the purpose of accompanying her, the Duke of Suffolk himself, together with Sir Richard Wingfield and Dr. West, as ambassadors, both to congratulate the new monarch, and to conduct the royal widow to her native shore, with all the respect not only due to a French Queen, but also to a Princess of England.

During the attendance of the ambassadors upon the young dowager, previous to her journey, Brandon did not fail to observe her majesty's partiality for him, which she took care very soon to confirm, hinting to him during a confidential conversation, that the happiness of the married state depended not so much upon great dignities, as on the love and affection the parties might have for each other; and that, for her part, if ever she married again, she would marry where her love was, or continue single the remainder of her life. Brandon, though now confident of her affection, was yet conscious of the disparity of rank between a sovereign and a subject; but this formed no obstacle to their union in her majesty's mind, and therefore, as Suffolk was yet too humble to declare his wishes, she actually had an interview with the new monarch, Francis, in which, without hesitation or circumlocution, she acknowledged that her design was nothing less than to marry the Duke of Suffolk, conjuring the king to assist her in perfecting her wishes; a request with which Francis readily complied.

In an ensuing conference the French king told the Duke of Suffolk the plain state of the case, when the latter instantly confessed his love for the queen; but hinted that if the affair should become known to Henry, he would be undone. To this the king obligingly answered,—" Let that alone to me; for I and the queen shall so solicit your master, that he shall be content."

But the duke trusted, perhaps, more to Wolsey's influence than to any other; and, accordingly, he instantly made to him a confidential communication of the whole affair, his letter running partly thus,—" I cannot but communicate to you, my Lord of York, what has passed on this occasion, because I intend to hide nothing from you; and earnestly desire your speedy advice, and whether you intend to inform the king of this letter. And I thank God, that he whom I feared most is most willing to be an author of this act himself, and to be an advocate for me to the king, my master." This was evidently intended as a hint to the Cardinal to break the affair to Henry, without absolutely making it a matter of request; at least Wolsey seems to have understood it in that light, and accordingly he took the first opportunity of offering it to the royal notice, at the same time using all his influence to soften Henry's displeasure, who was, at first, very indignant at matters having proceeded so far in France, without his knowledge or license. After some time, however,

the royal resentment was so far overcome, that Wolsey wrote to Suffolk, advising him to address the king in soft strains, which he did, and his letter was received most favourably: the queen, likewise, writing to his majesty, reminded him of his promise, and concluded with a very broad hint of her determination to please herself,—"Your Grace well knows what I did, as to my first marriage, was for your pleasure; and now, I trust, you will suffer me to do what I like."

Whether Wolsey was or was not acquainted with the queen's determination to act without waiting for her brother's approval does not clearly appear; but it cannot be doubted that, whatever she might do, she placed great reliance on his good offices to extricate her from any ill consequences that might flow from her want of caution; as was manifested by her telling Brandon, a few days afterwards, that unless he resolved to marry her within four days, she would never have him. To so fair a challenge, and so fair a challenger, Brandon could not say nay—and in two months after she was a widow she became privately a wife. Mary, with great propriety, now took on herself the task of reconciling her brother to this hasty match, justifying Brandon by a candid declaration of the means which she had taken to hasten it; but not receiving an immediate answer to her epistle, it was thought expedient that the bridegroom should write to Wolsey.

This he did in a way that seems to have justified the Cardinal's reproaches to him upon a subsequent occasion; for he expressly stated in his letter that, next to God and the king, he owed to Wolsey all the honours that had attended him hitherto; and he concluded with declaring his fear of the royal displeasure, on account of the marriage, earnestly begging his friend to mediate in his favour.

Nor was Wolsey inattentive to the wishes of the lovers; but availed himself of his influence to remove all feelings of displeasure from Henry's bosom: so that he was soon enabled to announce to them the great probability of success, advising them, at the same time, to write to their royal brother in the most submissive style, which he felt confident would have the best effect.

This judicious advice they pursued; and, on the receipt of their letters, Henry instantly expressed his ready forgiveness, inviting them over to England: an invitation which they joyously accepted, testifying at the same time, by letters to Wolsey, the grateful sense which they had of his friendship and extreme kindness to them through the whole affair.

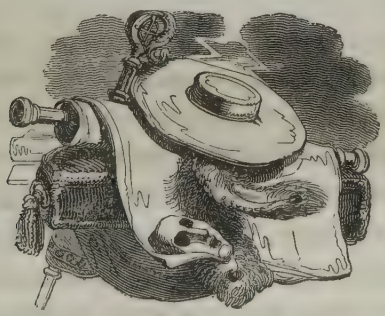
It is a whimsical anecdote of that day that a friar actually went from London to Paris to warn Mary not to marry the Duke of Suffolk, earnestly exclaiming to her,—"Of all men, beware of him; for I can assure you that he and Wolsey have

dealings with Satan, by which they rule the king for their own ends."

But Mary had too much good sense, or too much passion, to listen to such absurdity; so that the affair went on, as related, and the young couple, very soon after their arrival in England, were re-married in the Chapel Royal at Greenwich, on the 13th of May, 1515.

Scarcely had Wolsey's affair of the Cardinalate been settled, when his royal master, at the close of the year, summed up all his favours in the appointment of Lord High Chancellor, vacant by the resignation of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Rymer states (Fœd. xiv. 529.) that at one hour past noon the new chancellor received the seals; but another account says, that he received them at Eltham in the royal presence, and in the Chapel Royal after vespers.



SECTION IV.

1516—1518.

Exertions as Chancellor—Arbitrary Exercise of Power—Strict Audit of Public Accounts—Conduct towards the Earl of Kildare—Exercise of ecclesiastical Authority—Friendship and Correspondence with Erasmus—Great internal Improvements in Laws and Manners—Foreign Politics—Splendid Household Establishment—Satire by Sir Thomas More—Amorous Intrigues, and mysterious Anecdote—Personal Adornment—His Wish to reform the Church—Treaty with France—Tournay restored—Foreign Pensions—Anecdotes of insolent Pride—Praised by Erasmus—London Riots against Foreigners—Tergiversation with Foreign Potentates—Diplomatic Anecdotes—Visits Oxford, and founds Lectures—Extraordinary Submission of Cambridge University—First Visit of Cardinal Campeius, and its Consequences—Whimsical Anecdotes of Italian Pride and Poverty—Extraordinary Papal Grants—Further Promotions, and Royal Favours—Anecdotes of priestly Pride, &c. &c.

THE most favourable account of the manner in which Wolsey succeeded to the seals is that given by Hall, who says, that at the conclusion of the parliamentary session, the Archbishop of Canterbury, perceiving that his rival meddled more in his office of Chancery than it became him to permit, but which he could not object to without risk of the royal displeasure; and observing also that

Wolsey attempted to assume all rule and power, and to usurp all authority, adding thereto the consideration of his own great age, he thought it best to surrender the great seal at once into the king's hands, who instantly presented it to Wolsey. It must be confessed, however, that other writers are by no means so favourable either to his moral or political honesty.

The new chancellor no sooner felt himself firmly seated than he began to enforce two acts which had passed in the preceding parliament, called the act of apparel, and the act of labourers; appointing commissions in every county, to see them enforced. Nay, so anxious was he for their due observance, particularly of the first, that he took the law into his own hands; and one day called towards him a gentleman of the name of Simon Fitz-Richard, from whom he took an old jacket of crimson velvet, and various broaches and ornaments. This excited much spleen and ill-will amongst the many, but was to his flatterers and officers only a bad example; so that the Mayor of Rochester, in hopes of court favour, actually exposed a young man in the pillory for wearing a ragged shirt.

These extraordinary acts of power were even increased when he received the papal bull, with a grant of the legantine authority in England, but the date of which is uncertain, as will be hereafter noticed, which gave him the highest ecclesiastical

jurisdiction in the kingdom; enabling him to appoint to all offices in the spiritual courts, and to present to all ecclesiastical benefices. It further granted to him the power of constituting masters of faculties, and of appointing masters of ceremonies, in augmentation of his own personal dignities; together with a visitorial inspection over all monasteries and convents, and, in short, over all the English clergy, whether exempt or non-exempt by former grants.

With such powers, powers also which he exercised to their fullest extent, both civil and ecclesiastical, the conduct of the new chancellor could not fail to meet with strong animadversion, especially as a spirit of religious, and consequently of free political inquiry, had begun to show itself amongst the people: yet it must still be confessed that Wolsey's pride and arrogance, if they made him enemies, were not the sole cause of that hostility; for there were other reasons intimately connected with the welfare of the kingdom, which soon raised a nest of hornets about him. In the first place, he instituted a system of audit for all accounts connected with military expenditure, or other public money; a measure that gave great offence, as many entrusted with the public purse in their several departments were most shamefully in arrear of payments, and unable to make up their balances. It is said, indeed, by the old chroniclers, that numbers of the guilty saved

themselves by perjury and bribery, whilst others less guilty were severely punished: but Wolsey must not be blamed for this, as it is owned that "for a truth he so punished perjury with open punishment, that in his tyme it was lesse used."

He also caused a great reform of manners in the country; showing no respect of persons, but dealing with all alike; punishing not only the common people, but also knights and lords for riots, or other misdemeanors; so that the people, in general, were enabled to live in tranquillity. Yet no sooner did the poor perceive that Wolsey punished the rich than they began to forge and fabricate complaints, by which many worthy persons were brought into trouble. So numerous, indeed, were those complaints at last, that the chancellor found it impossible to attend to them personally; besides which, he soon ascertained that many of these charges were founded in envy, ill-will, and falsehood: and, therefore, to get rid of them entirely, he procured a royal commission for the establishment of four inferior courts, to hear the complaints of poor people by bill. The first of these was held in Whitehall, then called York-place; the second was under the care of Dr. Stokesley, the king's almoner; a third was held in the Lord Treasurer's Chamber, next to the Star Chamber; and the fourth at the Rolls.

The pressure of business at these courts, when first established, was immense; but the novelty

soon wore off, and the poor were tired of complaining of their betters, especially when they found that great delays took place; that few affairs were at the last decided; and that, even when decided, no man was bound by the award. Those, therefore, who had real complaints of grievances to make were soon glad to resort to the common law in preference.

That Wolsey sometimes, at this period, employed his power for the gratification of private malice, has been a heavy charge against him, especially in the case of the Earl of Kildare. We are told that Kildare's danger, at this time, was evidently very great; not so much from any political crimes that he might have been guilty of, as from a strong ill-will borne towards him by Wolsey. From whence this feeling arose it is difficult to account for; but his enemies, at length, succeeded in having him convicted on an accusation of having sent his daughter to the various Irish chiefs, soliciting them to join in a conspiracy against the English power under the Earl of Ossory. After sentence, Kildare was committed to the Tower; but under a reprieve from the king, who seems to have been unwilling to shed blood upon this occasion, and the earl himself must have looked forward towards an ultimate pardon—at least he had philosophy enough to be contented under his then circumstances: and it is stated of him, that he "was heartily loved of the lieutenant, pitied in all

the court, and standing in so hard case altered little of his accustomed hue, comforting other noblemen, prisoners, and dissembling his own sorrow."

Stowe relates in his Chronicle, that one night, when Kildare and the lieutenant of the Tower were amusing themselves at the game of shovel-groat, an order arrived most unexpectedly for his execution on the following morning. This order was no sooner looked at by the lieutenant than he uttered a deep sigh, when Kildare exclaimed, "By St. Bride, lieutenant, there is some mad scheme in that scroll; but fall out how it will, this throw is for a huddle!" Struck with his magnanimity, the lieutenant did not hesitate to acquaint him with the extent of the order; when Kildare, suspecting that the whole affair arose rather from the Cardinal's malice than from the king's will, with great good sense requested that officer to learn from the king's own mouth whether he was privy to this sudden determination. The lieutenant was, at first, very unwilling to enter upon this inquiry, lest he should thereby give offence to Wolsey, so great was the dread of his power in the minds of men in general; but he at length determined, at the hour of midnight, to set off for the court, and demand an immediate audience of the king, which was then considered a privilege of his office. On arriving at the court, an interview was immediately granted, when the king gave him his signet

in token of countermanding the order, on which, indeed, he made some very strong observations, talking of the "sauciness of the priest" in very plain terms; and the lieutenant instantly waited upon Wolsey, who was so enraged at the royal interference, that he lost sight even of decorum, and "began to breathe out unseasoned words, which the lieutenant was loth to hear, and so he left him fretting."

Of other accusations, we may allude to a general one, that when Wolsey, by the dismissal of the Archbishop of Canterbury from the chancellorship, and by the subsequent grant, felt himself secure of the great seal, being also archbishop and cardinal legate soon afterwards, his pride knew no bounds, but those of his power, and scarcely that. His first object was to surmount the Archbishop of Canterbury in all jurisdictions, which he completely marked and manifested by the exercise of superior ecclesiastical powers, summoning not only all the bishops of both provinces, but even the archbishop himself, to attend his convocations, claiming therein the whole parochial patronage of the church, sending his own visitors to all the spiritual houses in the kingdom, filling all the ecclesiastical courts with his own commissioners, scribes, apparitors, together with all other officers; all this, however, as we have seen in the slight sketch of his legantine powers in a preceding page, we must own he was authorised to do; and, therefore,

if blame falls on him, it ought rather to be from the undue exercise of his power, than from the strict legal exertion of the high papal commission.

Yet with all his ideas of the supreme arbitrary authority of the head of the Romish church, it is rather a curious fact that Wolsey, even after he became a cardinal, was still upon good terms with some of the Reformers, especially with Erasmus, who had recently obtained the royal license to return to Basle, from whence he wrote to Wolsey; who seems, by this letter, almost to have been his confidant in the grand work of Reformation.

"Most Reverend Prelate,

"I am very sorry that I had not an opportunity of a longer and more particular conference with your highness before I left England. My last refuge, and the sheet anchor of my felicity, I had fixed on you; but I was in haste to publish St. Jerome, a voluminous and celebrated work; and if I mistake not, a work which will be immortal, besides its being pious and edifying. This it was which I had so much at heart, that I neglected all other business to prosecute it."

He afterwards proceeds to state, "There is a new Greek Testament printed as it was written by the apostles, with a Latin translation and annotations by me. Some other things also I have published of less consequence; and yet these trifles are a greater trouble to me than those arduous affairs of state are to you. When, therefore, we

have finished those undertakings, we will hasten our return to England, especially if your eminency's goodness and generosity will, in the mean time, be providing something for me as a refreshment, both to my mind and body, after the fatigues I have undergone from these employments. May a good state of health be enjoyed by your most reverend lordship, to whom I wholly devote and dedicate myself.—Basle, Feb. 3, 1516."

It was worthy of record also, that about this same period the famous Dr. Colet, founder of St. Paul's school, met with the kindest treatment from Wolsey, at the very time when the Bishop of London had prosecuted him for heresy. Colet, on this occasion, laid his complaint before the cardinal, who paid to him through all the proceedings a particular deference and respect; finally taking care that Colet should peaceably possess the preferments which he held without any further disturbance, putting thus an end to the ulterior proceedings which had been intended against him: yet Colet, as we have seen in a preceding anecdote, could not submit to the extraordinary powers of Wolsey. A letter from Henry's own hand, nearly of this date, will show in what affectionate esteem he was held by his royal master, notwithstanding the public clamour against him.

"My Lord Cardinal,

"I recommend me unto you as heartily as I can, and I am right glad to hear of your good

health, which I pray God may long continue. So it is, that I have received your letters, to the which, because they ask long answering, I have made an answer by my secretary. But two things there are, which are so secret, that they cause me at this time to write to you myself. The one is, that I trust the queen, my wife, is with child; the other is the chief cause why I am so loth to repair to London, because now is partly her dangerous time *, and likewise because I would remove her as little as possible. Now, my lord, I write this unto you not as an assured thing, but as a thing wherein I have great hope and likelihood; and also I do well know that this news will be comfortable to you to understand, therefore I do write it unto you. No more unto you at this time, *nisi quod Deus velit inceptum opus bene finiri.*

"Written with the hand of your loving prince,

"HENRY R."

That Henry should have been so extremely partial to Cardinal Wolsey, even if that partiality had first been founded in youthful error and prejudice, will not appear so wonderful in his riper years, if we take a liberal view of the cardinal's exertions in his public capacity, not only for his master's good, but for the general good of the country. We find it acknowledged, that although the different business Wolsey was engaged in re-

* Probably in allusion to the sweating sickness.

lative to his offices, both spiritual and temporal, was fully sufficient to have occupied, in general opinion, so much of his time, as to have allowed him very little for attention to other matters: yet such was his intense application to all the departments of government, that he was able, in the course of this very year, 1516, to reform numerous abuses which had crept into the different offices, particularly in regard to the revenue, and the administration of justice in the courts of law, as has been slightly alluded to.

His exertions in regard to the Exchequer could not fail to make him many enemies: for as he found it much exhausted, both through the king's liberality, and the demands for the public service, he judged it expedient to bring all persons, whatever their rank, entrusted with the receipt of the revenue, to a strict account and audit. In this inquest he gave great offence to the Duke of Suffolk, who was a debtor to the crown to a considerable amount; no demands having been made either upon him or various others, through the neglect or treachery of the proper officers. With respect to Suffolk, the effects of the demand were so serious, that being unable then to arrange it, he found it necessary to retire from the expensive life of a court, in order, by frugality in country seclusion, to save a sum sufficient to answer the debt: for he was aware that in this case Henry would not interfere with the regulations of his chan-

cellor, who had already obliged some to pay into the Treasury what they owed, prosecuting others to compel payment, and thus providing the king with money, without any new taxes or imposts upon the people.

Previous to this the administration of the criminal law had been very faulty, tending rather to increase than to diminish crime, especially in regard to misdemeanors, riots, and even rapes and perjuries, so that neither person nor property were safe. But Wolsey exerted himself here also, more especially as to perjury, which was then the dry rot of criminal law and of social confidence; so that, in a short time, that crime was nearly eradicated, to the great improvement of morals. The other crimes he also followed up with careful trials, and certainty of punishment on conviction; which was much facilitated by the establishment of a new court, in which sat the lords of the council, with several others of the nobility.

All these things gained him great praise, in regard to the general good, at least from judicious politicians; and we must not forget that he was the founder of the court of requests, and of many other regulations in the civil government, which were then very acceptable to the people at large; regulations so tempered by wisdom and patriotism, that some of them are in use even at the present day.

Even the inimical historians of that time ac-

knowlege the truth of these facts; and Erasmus, whose authority will not readily be disputed, says expressly that he proceeded in such a way as to bid fair to render England a more glorious nation than it ever was before; for he so thoroughly cleared the realm of malefactors, and evil doers of every sort, that it was not more free from poisons and wild beasts, than from noxious men; that by his authority he cut in sunder many perplexed lawsuits, no less happily than Alexander did the Gordian knot; and also that with much wisdom he composed the differences between great men, which often tended to the injury of the state.

Thus powerful and active at home, he was courted even by foreign courts. Scotland was almost at his beck, especially in regard to the queen dowager's party; for she was now so poor, as actually to be obliged to borrow money from him. Spain too looked up to England now as a powerful ally, her crown having fallen to the youthful Charles of Austria, by the demise of King Ferdinand, and who was now generally understood to be a candidate for the imperial diadem, whenever it should be vacant by the death of his grandfather; and so successful was the young monarch, in opposition to the intrigues of France, that a league was entered into at London with the Emperor Maximilian, in October, 1516, nominally in defence of the church, but really in hostility to Francis I. In the diplomatic proceedings re-

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specting this treaty, Wolsey sat at the head of the commission.

It was the policy of England, however, not to come to open hostilities with France, although she advanced money to Maximilian in his war in Italy; a service for which the emperor showed so little gratitude, that even after Henry had paid the half of 60,000 florins contracted for in his name, Maximilian had the assurance to tell him that if he did not also pay his half, for he had no money, then he should be obliged to make such concessions to the King of France as England would not approve of. Yet Henry, and Wolsey also, had been so mystified by Austrian diplomacy, that they actually believed Maximilian to have been sincere in a project of dispossessing the French of the Milanese territory, and of annexing it to the crown of England. Henry, however, had good sense enough to see that the restoration of Francis Sforza to that dukedom would be more honourable and more beneficial to himself and his kingdom, and when the proposal was made to him through his agent, Dr. Pace, he announced his approbation of it by a letter under his own hand.

Amongst other political tricks, at this time, it was actually said that Maximilian had offered to resign the imperial sceptre in favour of Henry; but his remissness in the Italian campaign, not to call it by a harsh name, marching back from the gates of Milan to Trent as if in a panic, must

have convinced Henry of the instability of his friendship.

Elevated to power, both at home and abroad, and to wealth, both by fair means and foul, Wolsey began more pointedly to display his taste for magnificence, and to court popularity by hospitality in open house-keeping. For this purpose, three boards were daily spread in his hall, wherever he might be resident: at the head of the first sate a priest in the office of steward; at the head of the second a knight, as treasurer; and at the third an esquire, who was always comptroller of the household. Besides these, there were other established officers; consisting of a confessor, a physician, two almoners, three marshals, three ushers, and several grooms.

To supply these tables, the kitchen establishment was necessarily extensive; consisting of a master-cook, whose daily dress was either velvet or satin, with a gold chain to mark his superiority, two other cooks, and six assistants or labourers, as they were called; in addition to whom there were, in what was called the hall-kitchen, two clerks, holding the offices of comptroller, and surveyor over the dressers. In other departments were equally responsible persons; the hall-kitchen having two cooks, and labourers, and children, to the number of a dozen; the spicery superintended by a clerk; in the pastry, two yeomen and two paste-layers; in the scullery, four scullions; be-

sides one yeoman and two grooms; one yeoman and a groom in the larder; two yeomen and two grooms in the buttery; the same in the ewry; three yeomen and three pages in the cellar; and two yeomen in the chandlery.

Here then is a list nearly equal to that of a modern court calendar; but we have still to add two yeomen in the wafery; a master of the wardrobe, with twenty assistants, or male chambermaids, in the bed-room department; a yeoman and groom, thirteen pages, two yeomen purveyors, and a groom purveyor, in the laundry; then in the bakehouse, two yeomen and grooms; one yeoman and groom in the wood-yard, coals not being then in general use; one yeoman in the barn; and two yeomen and two grooms as porters at the gate.

In his stables equal pomp was displayed, there being a master of the horse (and a yeoman of his barge), besides a clerk and a yeoman; a farrier; a yeoman of the stirrup; also a maltlour, whose office we do not very well understand, and sixteen grooms, every one of them keeping four geldings.

The Cardinal's chapel must have been on an establishment nearly equal to that of the sovereign; for at its head was a dean, always a divine of the first eminence, and selected for extensive learning; next to him a subdean, also a repeater of the choir, a reader of the gospels, a singing priest for the epistles, and a master of the children. These were

for chapel service on common days; but on great fasts or festivals, there were other persons, on a constant retainer, who came to assist. In the vestry also were a yeoman and two grooms.

Besides this pomp of ecclesiastical service, the chapel was furnished, and all the offices performed, with the utmost splendour of Roman catholic decoration. The copes and other vestments of white satin, or scarlet, or crimson, with the most costly ornaments of jewels and precious stones.

Such may be called the public establishment of Wolsey's household; but splendid as it was, 'twas far exceeded by his personal domestic arrangements. His two cross bearers, with two pillar bearers, were always in waiting at due hours, in the ante-room or great chamber, whilst the privy chamber, or chambers, perhaps, must have been crowded; for there were a chief chamberlain, a vice chamberlain, a gentleman usher, besides a gentleman usher of his own chamber. Here were also twelve waiters, of low degree, and six gentlemen waiters: but the most extraordinary thing is, that he had also nine or ten peers of the realm on his household list, "who had each of them two or three men to waite upon him, except the Earle of Darby, who had five men."

Cavendish, who seems to boast of all this display, goes on to recount that this proud Cardinal had also forty persons in the offices of gentlemen cupbearers, of carvers, and sewers, both of the

great chamber and of the privy chamber; besides six yeomen ushers, eight grooms of the chamber; "also he had of almes, who were daily wayters of his boord at dinner,"—twelve doctors (not physicians, we presume), and chaplains, a clerk of the closet, two secretaries, two clerks of the signet, and four counsellers learned in the law.

It is further stated by Cavendish, that he had a clerk of the checque upon his chaplains and also upon the yeomen of the chamber; and when he became chancellor he added thereto, for the ready execution of that office, a riding clerk, a clerk of the crown, a clerk of the hanaper, and a wax chafer.

Then there were "foure footmen garnished with rich running coates, whensoever he had any journey;" and besides these, a herald at arms, a serjeant at arms, a physician, an apothecary, four minstrels, a keeper of the tents, an armourer, an instructor of his wards in chancery, an "instructor of his wardrop of roabes," a keeper of his chamber continually, a surveyor of York, and a clerk of the green cloth.

In short, to sum up in a few words, there were actually, upon his "cheine roll," eight hundred persons, independent of suitors, who were all entertained in the hall. "All these were daily attending downelying and uprising. And at need hee had eight continuall boords for the chamberlaynes and gentlemen officers, having a mease of

young lords, and another of gentlemen; besides this, there was never a gentleman or officer, or other worthy person, but hee kept some two, some three persons to wait upon them; and all other, at the least, had one, which did amount to a great number of persons."

In fact the number exceeded eight hundred of all ranks, including nine or ten peers, or sons of peers, fifteen knights, and forty esquires; but then it must be stated that these latter were not considered as domestics, but as friends who resided in his family either for education and knowledge of the world, or for state purposes, merely adding to the show on days of ceremony.

The annual sum necessary to keep up such an establishment must have been immense; but the royal munificence, further marked about this time by the grant of the abbacy of St. Alban's, had actually put the Cardinal in possession of an income superior to that of the crown; to which must be added pensions from foreign courts, openly paid, to which we shall presently have occasion to revert, besides many large sums of money which he is supposed to have received from contending princes in order to deprecate the hostility, or ensure the neutrality of England.

In short, such were now Wolsey's means, and so lavish his expenditure, that his pride and vanity became so very conspicuous as to be almost proverbial in men's mouths, even whilst he was in

power; yet no one dared accuse him openly. Sir Thomas More, indeed, in his work—"A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation"—does record a whimsical anecdote of him in regard to his behaviour at his own table; but this is told as having happened in Germany. He describes the Cardinal, under this feint, as "glorious very farre above all measure," adding that it "was great pitie, for it dyd harm, and made him abuse many great gyftes that God had so geven hym."

More then declares him to have been "never saciate of hearinge his owne prayse," and in proof of this relates, that one day at dinner, when there was a large company assembled, he made a long speech on some specific point of general interest at the time, which he seemed, himself, to like very well, but then during the whole time of dinner, he sat, as it were, upon thorns, waiting to hear how the company would commend it. But no one spoke, yet it was observed, that at last he sat musing for some time, as if contriving some roundabout modest way of recurring to it so as to call forth observations on it. In this cogitation, however, he seemed not to have been successful, and therefore "for lacke of a better, lest he should have letted the matter too long, he brought it even bluntly forth, and asked us all that satte at his bordes end (for at his own messe in the middes there satte but himself alone) how well we lyked his oracyion that hee hadde made that day. But,

in fayth uncle, when that probleme was once proponed, till it was full answered, no manne (I wene) eate one morsell of meate more. Every manne was fallen in so depe a studye, for the fyndynge of some exquisite prayse."

That Henry was displeased with Wolsey's display of wealth can scarcely be supposed, particularly when we recollect that he used often, and with great glee, to partake of the hospitalities of the Cardinal's residence, visiting him in masque, according to the fashion of the times, and of course witnessing all the pageantry of his state, and the profusion of his entertainments.

How well fitted, indeed, Wolsey was to join the office of master of the revels to his ecclesiastical dignity may be surmised from a passage in Stowe's Annals, where he says, that when it pleased the king, for his recreation, to repair to the Cardinal's house, as he did frequently, there wanted no preparation or furniture; banquets were set forth with masques and mummeries, in so gorgeous a style and costly manner, that it was an heaven to behold. There wanted no dames or damosels, meet or apt to dance with the masques, or garnish the place for the time: then there was all kind of music and harmony, with fine voices both of men and children.

Amidst all this revelry, possessed of a handsome person and engaging manners, and not, perhaps, very scrupulous in regard to amorous in-

trigue, like all his clerical brethren at that period, it may naturally be inferred, that Wolsey's intercourse with the fair was not kept within very strict bounds. Indeed we have every reason to suspect that some mysterious intrigue was at this very moment going on, the fruits of which it was necessary to conceal in a manner, perhaps not very uncommon at that day, but which is sufficiently romantic to form an excellent foundation for an historical novel like those that charm from the pen of the author of Waverley.

The charge may, at first, seem a severe one, but is not the less true; in proof of which, we insert the following copy of a letter to Secretary Cromwell, said to be* "in relation to a bastard daughter of Cardinal Wolsey's in the nunnery of Shaftsbury."

Ryghte hon̄able aft̄ most humyll comendacyons I lykewyse beseeche yow that the contents of thys my symple lett̄ may be secret, and that for asmyche as I have grete cause to goo home, I beseeche your good mast̄shipe to comand Mr. Herytag to give atendans opon your mast̄shipe, for the knowlege off youre plesure in the seyde secrete matt̄ whiche ys this. My Lorde Cardinall causyd me to put a yong gentyll homan to the monystery and un̄ry of Shayfftysbyry, and ther

* Brit. Mus. Ays. Col. No. 4160. art. 11.

to be p̃sessyd, and wold hur to be namyd my dogthter, and the troythe ys shee was his dowythter, and now by yor visitacyon she haythe coman̄yment to dep̃te and knowythe not whether; wherfore I humely beseeche youre mast̃shipe to dyrect yor letter to the abbas there, that she may there co̅tynu at hur full age to be p̃fessyd. W^t owte dowyte she ys other xxiiii yere full, or shalbe at shuche tyme of the here as she was boren, whiche was a bowyte mychelmas. In this yor doyng, you^r mastershipe shal do a very charitable ded, and also bynd hur and me to do you suche s̃vyce as lyythe in owre lytell powers, as knowythe owre Lord God whome I humely beseeche p̃speryssly and longe to p̃sve you,

Your Orator,

JOHN CLUSEY.

To the rygthe hon̄full
and his most especiall
good m^r, Master Cromwell
Secretary to owre Sov̄and
Lord the Kyng.

That the date of this letter, if it had been preserved, would have fixed the intrigue much about this period, is evident from the fact, that it could not have been later, as the nunnery of Shaftsbury was surrendered to the commissioners on the 23d March, 1539, when the abbess Elizabeth Souche, or Zouche, obtained a pension of £133 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, pensions being also allowed to thirty-eight

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of the other nuns; and this abbess might have been ignorant of the circumstance, not receiving that office until 1529, when she succeeded Elizabeth Thetford, who in 1523 had been the successor of Margery Twineham, this latter holding the office from 1505, so that it was most probably during her abbacy that the young nun had been received.

The public complaints were not now so much against profusion, as that the state assumed by the Cardinal, when chancellor, was even greater than that of royalty itself. This is certainly true, and it must have occupied, in common with the mere formalities of religion, much of his time unnecessarily. But early hours were then in fashion, and the Cardinal rose early; and as soon as he came out of his bed-chamber, he generally heard two masses, either in his ante-chamber or chapel. Returning to his private apartments, he made various necessary arrangements for the day; and about eight o'clock, left his privy chamber ready dressed, in the red robes of a cardinal, his upper garment being of scarlet, or else of fine crimson taffeta, or crimson satin, with a black velvet tippet of sables about his neck, and holding in his hand an orange, deprived of its internal substance and filled with a piece of sponge, wetted with vinegar "and other confections against pestilent airs, the which hee most commonly held to his nose, when he came to the presses, or when he was pestered with

many suitors." This may account for so many of the old portraits being painted with an orange in the hand. The Great Seal of England and the Cardinal's hat were both borne before him "by some lord, or some gentleman of worship right solemnly;" and as soon as he entered the presence-chamber, the two tall priests, with the two tall crosses, were ready to attend upon him, with gentlemen ushers going before him bare-headed, and crying "on masters before, and make room for my lord." The crowd thus called on consisted not only of common suitors, or the individuals of his own family, but often of peers of the realm, who chose, or were perhaps obliged, thus to crouch to an upstart—a character not in very great repute in those days. In this state the proud Cardinal proceeded down his hall, with a sergeant at arms before him, carrying a large silver mace, and two gentlemen, each bearing a large plate of silver. On his arrival at the gate, or hall-door, he found his mule ready, covered with crimson velvet trappings; for though the Cardinal imitated his Divine Master as to the beast he chose to ride on, yet he thought there could be nothing wrong in having him more splendidly attired than is warranted by scriptural documents.

When mounted, his attendants consisted of his two cross-bearers, and his two pillar-bearers, dressed in fine scarlet, and mounted on great horses caparisoned in like colour, of four men on

foot, with each a pole-axe in his hand, and a long train of gentry who came to swell his triumph as he proceeded to the Court of Chancery, where he generally sat until eleven o'clock to hear suits and to determine causes.

With all this state, he seems to have affected some degree of familiarity; for, previous to taking his seat in the court, he generally stopped at a bar made for him below the chancery, conversing with the other judges, and sometimes with individuals of less apparent consequence.

As soon as his chancery business was over, he commonly proceeded to the Star-chamber; where, as has been, we hope truly, reported of him, "hee neither spared high nor low, but did judge every one according to right."

Indeed, amidst all contending accounts, there still appears to have been much virtue in this extraordinary man, who might even claim merit as being one of the chief causes of the rapid extension of the Reformation in England, from his sedulous endeavours to detect the disorders amongst the clergy at home; disorders, the knowledge of which was now producing such memorable events in Germany, and leading to the Reformation there also.

In the midst of all his greatness, Wolsey experienced considerable trouble and anxiety in regard to Tournay, as not only the inhabitants but the clergy were in favour of his competitor.

It was understood, too, that France was determined to recover it, either by force or surprise; particularly when it was known that Wolsey's interest was now so far predominant at the Court of Rome, that the Pope not only revoked his former bull in favour of the French bishop elect, but had even appointed his English rival his general collector of papal dues in England—an office of high trust and confidence, and which could not fail to add much to the Cardinal's power and influence—and to his wealth also, as the accusation has been against him.

Notwithstanding these demonstrations of papal favour, Wolsey was soon content to rid himself of his Tournay troubles, especially where the profits were so small, with the best grace he could; when he so far resigned his claims to his royal benefactor, that a treaty was soon after entered into with France for the delivery of that city and bishopric, as an act of friendship previous to a family union, by a marriage of the Princess Mary, then an infant, with the Dauphin of France, yet unborn, but expected, as the French Queen exhibited symptoms of pregnancy—the result of which might, however, have been a daughter instead of a dauphin, in spite of diplomatic sagacity.

By this treaty, Wolsey gained much upon the personal friendship of Francis I.; and he appears to have been equally a favourite with the young

Spanish monarch, who settled upon him a pension of 3000 livres per annum, on the avowed principle of being not only a mark of the great amity and consideration which Charles had for him, but also in reward for the good offices and effectual pains which the Cardinal had taken in recent negotiations, between him and his royal uncle of England. This grant was announced to Wolsey by an autograph letter from King Charles; who, in the grant, calls him "our most dear and special freind."

To a pension so handsomely presented, the Cardinal could not object; indeed, it appears that he was not in the habit of refusing even smaller sums, as in this present year he also accepted a pension of 200 ducats, from the Duke of Milan, for his services in regard to that Duchy.

But these foreign favours were by no means palatable to the people of England, whose jealousy of him was thereby only the more increased, so that the whole kingdom was filled with stories of his rapacity and profusion, of his betraying the interests of his king and country, for his own private gain; and, in short, little else was noticed at this moment but the pride and insolence of Wolsey; which were depicted pointedly and most peculiarly in many instances; but in none more fully than in what is called * a Character of the

* Brit. Mus. Lansdown, Col. No. 978. p. 213.

insolent Behaviour of Cardinal Wolsey, as given by Thomas Allen, Priest and Chaplain to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

"Pleseth your Lordshyp to understande upon Monday was sennight laste paste, I delivered your letter wth the examinacyon to my Lord Cardynall at Guildford, whence he commanded me to wait on him to the court. I followed him, and there gave attendence, and could have no answer. Upon Friday last he came from thence to Hampton Court, where he lyeth. The morrow after, I besought his Grace I might know his plesure—I could have no answer. Upon Monday last, as he walked in the parke at Hampton Court, I besought his Grace I might knowe if he wolde command me anye servyce. He was not content with me that I spoke to him. So that who shall be a suitor to him may have no other busynesse but give attendance upon his plesure. He that shall so doe, it is needfull should be a wyser man than I am. I sawe no remedy but came w^th^out answere except I wolde have done as my Lord Dacre's servant doth, who came with letters for the kynge's servyce five moneths since, and yet hath no answere: and another servant of the Deputy of Calais, likewyse, who came before the other to Walsingham, I heard when he answered them, If ye be not contente to tarry my leysure, departe when ye will.

"This is truthe. I had rather your Ldshyp

commaunded me to Rome then deliver him letters, and bring answers to the same. When he walketh in the parke, he will suffer no servant to come nyghe him, but commands them awaye as far as one might shoot an arrow."—

Yet Erasmus, in his confidential letters, seems to have formed a very different opinion of Wolsey from the popular one; stating his principal virtues to be his extraordinary humanity and moderation, his beneficence and zeal for the reformation of manners, and the advancement of learning; whilst his abilities were to be judged by the wisdom and rectitude of his administration. Nay, Erasmus, who has never been accused of flattery, says to him in a letter about this period—" a very great and splendid fortune is usually invidious; but the wonderful facility of your manners, conspicuous and known to all persons, so disarms envy itself, that they do not so much consider the greatness of your fortune, as the native goodness of your disposition." Yet Erasmus afterwards observed, upon his fall—" This is the play of Fortune; from being a schoolmaster, he was, in a manner, advanced to the royal dignity, for he might more truly be said to reign than the king himself. He was feared by all persons, beloved by few, if by any body."

Between such counter opinions it is difficult, at this late period, to decide; but, in unison with public opinion, we are obliged to confess, that no

sooner did Wolsey find himself securely seated on the chancery bench, than, with an apparent littleness of mind, prompted evidently by revenge, and still smarting under, perhaps, a deserved lash, he sent for Sir Amyas Paulet, who had formerly set him in the stocks at Lymington, abused him with foul reproaches, and ordered him not to dare to quit the metropolis, without a licence to that purpose. The knight, fearful, no doubt, of the sovereign's displeasure, through his favourite, submitted to this decree for five or six years, taking up his abode in the gate-house of the Middle Temple, which, Cavendish says, "he re-edified, and sumptuously beautified the same all over on the outside, with the Cardinal's arms, his hat, his cognizance and badges, with other devices in so glorious a manner, as hee thought thereby to have appeased his old displeasure."

Cavendish appears inclined to vindicate this, though he does not venture to defend his master's revenge, on the principle that the punishment of the stocks was absolutely inflicted wrongfully: but he talks of that punishment being more of humour than of justice; and considers the whole affair as a warning to men in power.

Wolsey's policy and good sense were this year hastily called into action by a most alarming riot in the city of London, which arose from the encouragement given to foreign artists and tradesmen, or as the old Chronicle says, "for that such

numbers of strangers were permitted to resort hither with their wares, and to exercise handy crafts, to the great hinderance and impoverishing of the king's liege people."

To such a height did this discontent proceed, that a broker, John Lincoln, on the 5th of April, actually waited on Dr. Standishe, who was to preach the Spital sermon in Easter week, and requested him to notice, in his discourse, the wrongs thus done to Englishmen; but Standishe refused to accede to this extraordinary request, and Lincoln then applied to Dr. Bell, who was to preach on the Tuesday, and persuaded him to read a bill of grievances, which is described as very seditious; not only showing to the people that they, as Englishmen, ought to cherish and maintain themselves, but also that it was lawful to attack these aliens for the good of the commonwealth. This sermon had its effect, and various disturbances took place up to the 28th of April, on which day some giddy young men set out into the streets in order to pick quarrels with the foreigners, some of whom they struck, whilst others they forced into the kennel. Good order necessarily required the lord mayor to put an end to this, and some of the most active rioters were sent to prison; but peace was far from being restored, for a report instantly spread that it was the intention of the citizens to slay all foreigners on May-day. This report spread so rapidly and so loudly that many

of the foreigners left town in the greatest alarm; and it soon reached the court, where the king's council took it into immediate consideration. Wolsey immediately sent for the lord mayor and aldermen, and for several of the common council, to whom he stated what he had heard; when the lord mayor, as if ignorant of the matter, told him that he doubted not but so to govern the city as peace should be observed; to which the Cardinal replied by advising him so to do, and to take good heed that if any riotous attempt were intended, he should with good policy prevent it.

The lord mayor having returned into the city about four o'clock on May eve, when, if mischief were intended, no time should be lost in preventing it, immediately summoned a meeting at the Guildhall; but it was seven in the evening before the assembly proceeded to business. Various opinions were then broached: some thought that it would be sufficient to set a substantial watch of honest citizens, which might withstand the evildoers, if they went about any misrule; whilst others urged that the best mode would be to order every man to shut up his doors, and to keep his servants within.

This consultation being closed as speedily as possible, the recorder, about eight o'clock, was sent to Wolsey with the opinions of the common council; and, he approving of the second proposal, the recorder, accompanied by Sir Thomas More, late

under sheriff, returned to the Guildhall, when the approved resolution was instantly ordered to be put in force.

On the same evening, Sir John Mundy, one of the aldermen, returning from his own ward, through Cheapside, found two young men playing at sword and bucklers, whilst a number of others were looking on. In fact the order was scarce published, and probably was not known to these people; but Sir John ordered them to leave off; and when one of them asked him the reason why, the alderman was about to order him to the Compter. This, however, was not so easily done, for the prentices, then a very formidable union in the city, not only resisted the caption, rescuing the prisoner, but cried out "Prentices! and clubs!" so lustily, that prentices and clubs rushed out from every door, and obliged Sir John to fly.

The crowd still increased, and about eleven at night they broke open the Compter, and released all the prisoners already committed for their assaults upon the foreigners; and soon after they did the same at Newgate, in spite of the mayor and sheriffs, who attended to make due proclamation. This scene of riot and confusion lasted some hours, in which much damage was done; but the rioters about three in the morning, having left off their work of destruction, were seized in detail by the city police, and about three hundred committed to various prisons. In a few days the

prisoners were tried, and Lincoln and twelve others adjudged to die, for which purpose ten gallowses were erected in the most public spots in the metropolis, where they were executed. On the 7th of May, some others were sentenced to death, and immediately drawn on hurdles to Cheapside, where one of the party, Lincoln Shirwin, suffered his sentence, and the others had the ropes about their necks when a respite arrived, and they were remanded to prison.

The good policy of this merciful change cannot be doubted; but Henry was, or appeared to be, very unwilling to grant it: for, as Stowe affirms, it was not determined on until three queens, Katharine, Queen of England, and by her means, Mary, the French Queen Dowager, and Margaret, Queen of Scots, the king's sister, then resident in England, had, for a long time on their knees before Henry, solicited a pardon, "which, by persuasion of the Cardinall Wolsey, (without whose councell hee would then doe nothing) the king granted unto them."

A few days afterwards, on the 13th of May, the king came to Westminster Hall, where he was received by the lord mayor and corporation, when the remainder of the prisoners were brought up with halters round their necks and ultimately pardoned; but not until Wolsey had severely censured the corporation for their negligence. The pardon being pronounced, the prisoners shouted

and threw up their halters to the roof of the hall; then they were dismissed with a severe reproof, the gallowses were taken down, and peace and tranquillity restored.

Notwithstanding Wolsey's former enmity towards the King of France, we have seen that he began to change his feelings or his opinions on that subject after considerable coquetting with that monarch, who sent him many curious and valuable presents, accompanied by the most flattering letters, in which he copiously bestowed upon him the titles of Lord, Father, and Guardian, assuring him that he would not only regard his advice as oracles, but also reward his services most amply. Francis now conceived that he had completely secured Wolsey's favour and assistance with Henry, and therefore he directed his resident ambassador to negotiate privately with him respecting the restitution of Tournay, already alluded to, and publicly about an alliance between England and France, proposing to cement the peace and friendship, by the union of the infant Mary, with his own expected son, the Dauphin.

As an indemnification for the loss of Tournay formed part of the proposed arrangement, Wolsey listened to it willingly, and resolved to bring Henry over immediately to a change of political feeling; and his mode and manner of this, as it has been described, is too curious to pass without notice. His first step was to take Henry in a confidential mo-

ment, presenting him with some of the most curious things which Francis had sent him. When he perceived the king to be thus put in good humour, he said—"With these things hath the King of France attempted to corrupt me. Many servants would have concealed this from their masters; but I am resolved to deal openly with your Grace on all occasions." Lest, however, that he should go too far, he tempered the accusation by adding, "This attempt, however, to corrupt the servant, is a certain proof of his sincere desire of the friendship of the master."

It is also stated that Henry, so far from being offended, actually felt his vanity flattered by the idea that he had selected one so able for his minister,—one so much admired and courted by other princes; as was evinced by his observation, —"The Cardinal will govern both Francis and me."

This was very soon after verified when the two monarchs, in regard to the mutual amity and confidence established between them by the treaty, commenced their negotiations for an interview, which afterwards took place at Ardres, so noted in the history of that period. Indeed, on this occasion, Henry's confidence in Wolsey was not greater than that of Francis, who is stated to have shown, by a very sensible and demonstrative proof, how much he esteemed the Cardinal, and what high trust and confidence he reposed in his inte-

grity and honour: for it appears that after the French and English commissioners in London had agreed that an interview should take place, the French king actually referred the regulation of it, with respect to time, manner, and place, and to all other circumstances connected with it, to Wolsey himself; for which purpose he sent him a commission, some time afterwards, containing the fullest and most ample powers, with the sole reservation of a condition regarding the safety and honour of his person.

But the knowledge of this proposed interview gave great uneasiness to Charles of Spain, who took an early opportunity of remonstrating on the subject, not only by his ambassadors at the English court, but also by private agents to Sir Richard Wingfield, then governor, or deputy, at Calais, in order that he might represent the affair more pointedly to the Cardinal, who no sooner heard of it, than effectually to remove all jealousies and suspicious reports, he immediately explained the whole affair without any disguise, not only what steps the King of England had taken towards it, but also what the Flemish ambassadors had done to obstruct it.

That the Flemish interest was very inimical to Wolsey upon this occasion is evident from the fact that the Lord of Chevres, then high in power, and the Chancellor of Burgundy, actually stopped

the King of Spain's grant of pension to him *, when it came to be signed and sealed at Ghent, where it was originally granted. This opposition from the Flemings was, however, soon got over; and Wolsey, anxious to please the Spanish monarch, then at Madrid, persuaded Henry to confer upon him the order of the garter, which was sent to him in due form by a splendid embassy. On this occasion we have a curious diplomatic fact in letters from Dr. Edward Lee, and Sir Thomas Boleyne, in which they earnestly write to Wolsey for cramp rings, or his majesty's hallowed rings, promising to distribute them well, and to the best purposes.

These were accordingly despatched at the Cardinal's request; indeed his wish was now a law; and the whole of Henry's conduct towards him seems to have been a tissue of royal favours: for on the 29th of April, we find a grant from the king, to enable him to confer letters patent of denizen under the great seal †; and shortly after another grant, empowering him not only to make out all congés d'elire, royal assents, and restitutions of temporalities of ecclesiastical dignities, from archbishoprics down to the lowest religious establishments; but also to take the homages and

* See letter dated 12th May, 1518, Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. 295.

† Rymer's Fœd. xiii. 605, 606.

fealty of all persons which might be due to the crown for such temporalities—grants which Wolsey could not fail to find highly lucrative, at a period when bribery was openly and unblushingly practised.

The political operations of the Cardinal left him little time for personal attentions to *alma mater*, though he still felt warmly in the cause of the place of his education, whenever he had an opportunity to serve her: circumstances, however, this year led him to visit the university of Oxford, about the latter end of Lent; for Henry and his queen going on a progress to Abingdon, he accompanied them, where, the day of their arrival, a deputation was sent to wait on them in the name of the university, which the queen readily listened to, having a great desire to visit Oxford, and at the same time she requested Wolsey to accompany her. Her majesty, we are told, was received with all the honours and expressions of joy that could be shown upon such an occasion, and which were proper to testify how much the heads of houses, with their whole train of fellows and graduates, thought the seat of the Muses adorned by the presence of so great and excellent a princess. Her majesty's house of reception was at Merton College, where she was publicly entertained in the hall, and which had for several centuries been set apart as the inn or hotel for the Queens of England, whenever they should visit that university.

When the convocation was assembled, and the congratulatory addresses presented, not only to the queen, but also to the Cardinal, the latter answered in a long speech, in which he declared how much he had the interests of the university at heart, and how desirous he was to do to it every service in his power. For this purpose he assured them that he particularly proposed to found certain lectures (afterwards established), and that he wished to be entrusted with the care of reducing their statutes into some better form and order; the regulation of which, on account of their confusion and discrepancy, had been for some time past committed to other persons.

This offer was at once accepted; and letters were instantly despatched to Archbishop Warham, then chancellor of the university, to acquaint him both with the offer and its favourable acceptance. This was rather a bitter pill for Warham, especially as prescribed by his enemy and rival; but, after some time, he was persuaded by the repeated remonstrances of the members of the university to agree to it; and, in consequence, on the 1st of June, a full convocation passed an ample and solemn decree, that the statutes of the university should be put into Wolsey's hands, to be corrected, reformed, changed, or expunged, as he in his discretion should think proper.

This humility of conduct appears to have even been surpassed by Cambridge, in an act of sub-

mission, granting him in a fuller manner an absolute power of reforming, methodising, and, if he should think proper, of changing, nay, of destroying all their former statutes; and even after this strong language, that university complained, in the words of their grant, that they wanted expressions to denote the powers wherewith they wished he might be invested, and the absolute conveyance of their rights and privileges as an "incorporable" body to him; but with a reservation of such distinct rights and privileges as were proper to the several colleges of that university.

Fiddes contends that the grounds upon which the university of Cambridge proceed in this address to Wolsey are still more glorious to him than even the powers thereby granted; for the address desired that their statutes might be modelled by his judgment, as by a true and settled standard. It further spoke of him as one sent by a special Providence from heaven for the public benefit of mankind, and particularly to the end they might be favoured with his patronage and protection. But the address went also further, and it gave a title to Wolsey, of which Fiddes, himself his vindicator and advocate, acknowledges that it "even appears superior to that of majesty from the other university; but the proper force of which cannot, I believe, be expressed by any word of the language wherein I write." Now the fact is, that the *title* applied to him, and by *Cambridge*

too, is that of "Numen," which certainly, even if it went no further, meant, amongst the Romans, a protecting Deity—a being, if not in the first list of gods, yet above mortality! The passage alluded to is—"Shall we not by every mode of intreaty implore the aid of a Deity (numinis opem) for the restoration of our laws? Shall we not fly to this altar of justice, to this asylum of right?"

If flattery can go further we know not, but folly did; for these extraordinary powers were conceded to this mitred god, not for a term of years, or for a specific purpose, but for term of life, and under such express conditions, that he might exercise them as often, in what manner, and according to what different sanctions he might think most convenient *.

Subject to such flattery, endued with such powers, ecclesiastical and civil, as he now possessed, and supported in the plenitude of his authority by both king and pope, can we wonder if Wolsey, like Philip of Macedon, should be in dan-

* We have not seen this extraordinary document; but those who have any doubts respecting its authenticity may consult Fiddes's "Life of Cardinal Wolsey," folio edition, 1724, pp. 184, 185, particularly a note in the latter page, in which the author says, "A copy of this submission was communicated by my very worthy and learned friend, Mr. Hasbin, which he found among several original papers in the possession of Mr. Hale of Alderley, in Gloucestershire; it is on vellum, having the cardinal's arms, with his cap painted at the top."

ger of forgetting that he was a man? He must, indeed, have been more than man had he not, in some measure, forgot himself; yet still we must laugh at some whimsical circumstances of pride and littleness which often appeared. A curious instance of this pride and ambition took place this year, in consequence of the arrival of Cardinal Campeius, as ambassador from the pope, and which afterwards led, as some writers assert, to his own procuring of the full legantine authority *; for no sooner did he know of the proposed embassy, and that Campeius, who was also a legate de latere, would thus take precedence of him as a cardinal, than he sent an episcopal friend, accompanied by several learned doctors, to wait for him at Calais, as if to do him honour by a welcome, but really to persuade him, that if he wished to meet with success in his embassy, he must send post to Rome, in order not only to have the legantine authority conferred upon Wolsey, but also to have the latter joined in the general diplomatic commission.

This representation had its expected effect upon

* There is great confusion and discrepancy in the dates of his appointment to the legantine authority. Some fix it cotemporary with his cardinalate, and record, as we have done, his exercise of that authority previous to the arrival of Campeius, whilst others agree with the date of the anecdote. This much is certain, that the legantine grant was at first only temporary, and not for life, as others had it.

Campeius, who took the steps necessary for its execution, so that the affair was settled at Rome, not without suspicion of large bribes, and the bull brought to Calais in the course of seven weeks: where Campeius and his train waited for it, and where their poverty and shabbiness were so apparent, that Wolsey sent a quantity of red cloth over for their new clothing.

Thus refitted, the whole party crossed over, and proceeded towards the metropolis, being received at every town with great ceremony, and accompanied from stage to stage by the nobility and gentry of each vicinity. On arriving at Blackheath, Campeius was met by the Duke of Norfolk, accompanied by an immense train of bishops, knights, and gentlemen, all clad in the richest apparel; and by them he was entertained in a rich tent of cloth of gold, where he attired himself in his cardinal's robe, edged with ermine; then mounting his mule, set off in full procession for London.

In those processions it was customary for great men to be accompanied by mules, or horses, laden with rich furniture, and even with treasure; but Campeius travelled with such apparent poverty, that Wolsey was actually ashamed of the appearance which he would make in passing through the public streets: and, therefore, on the night previous to the public entry, knowing that the mules of the Italian only amounted to eight in number,

he sent him a dozen others, laden with coffers covered with red cloth, but empty. This deception passed on very well until their arrival in Cheapside, when one of the mules broke from its keeper, threw off its own chests, which burst open in the fall, and made two or three of the other mules turn restive and do the same; but the derision of the populace was violent in the extreme, when they saw that "out of some fell olde hosen, broken shoen, and roasted fleshe, peces of bread, egges, and muche vile baggage: at whiche sighte the boyes cryed, 'See! see, my Lord Legate's treasure;' and so the muleteers were ashamed, and tooke up all their stuffe, and passed forthe."

But other folks might have been ashamed also, for previous to this the procession had been joined by the whole body of London clergy, with crosses, censers, and copes, who censed Campeius with all due solemnity, whilst the lord mayor and aldermen, common council, and all the trades and occupations of the city, lined the streets in their best liveries, with every possible ceremony to do him honour.

No sooner had he recovered in some degree from the disastrous disclosure, than he found a number of bishops, in mitres and full canonicals, ready to receive him beneath a superb canopy, under which he entered the church, the canopy itself being instantly claimed by his servants as their fee. After the papistical ceremony of the

offering, he bestowed his benediction on the people; and, again mounting his mule, proceeded to Bath-place, where he was lodged with all his train, being there also first welcomed by Wolsey, who thus kept up the appearance of royal authority over his fellow-cardinal, from whom he now received several bulls granted to him by the pope, particularly one which gave him the power of visiting the monasteries, in commission with Campeius, who also showed him the powers he had from the pope to enforce the bull *, which granted to Wolsey the tenths of all the revenues of the prelates, &c. throughout the kingdom.

Here we may record a specimen of underhand dealing, of which the Cardinal, in a political point of view, has often been accused, and which is even granted by his apologist, who acknowledges that Wolsey, thinking himself capable without an associate of being visiter of the monasteries, even while Campeius remained in England, sent Dr. John Clarke to Rome, to request from the pope that the whole power, as to that article, might be transferred upon himself. This, as Lord Herbert says, was done by the king's command; but that command could only follow Wolsey's wishes: Clarke, however, whether sanctioned by the royal authority or not, acquitted himself so well in the business, as Fiddes expressly states, that the car-

* Rymer, Fœd. xiv. 599.

dinal, Campeius being now revoked, obtained a bull, whereby he was enabled to visit not only monasteries and all the clergy of England, but to dispense with the laws of the church for the term of a year ensuing the date of his commission.

But these latter events took place posterior to the time of which we write; we shall, therefore, resume the order of our narrative in stating, that Sunday seems to have been a day generally dedicated to court ceremonies at this period; and accordingly, on the first Sabbath after the arrival of Campeius, Wolsey and he, in their state barges, set off for the court at Greenwich, each of them having their crosses displayed, also two pillars of silver, two small axes gilt, two cloak bags embroidered, and their cardinal's hats carried before them. On entering the royal hall, Wolsey took the right or upper hand of Campeius, and there they were met by the king in full courtly state, and received as if both had come from Rome; so jealous was Wolsey of admitting even the slightest distinction in which he did not partake. His majesty now led the way towards the presence chamber, when an Italian in the train made a long oration, stating the object of the embassy to be twofold; one for aid of the Christian church against the Turks, who were then very troublesome to Europe, the other for the reformation of the clergy. High mass was then celebrated, after which the two cardinals were ushered to a chamber, where

they dined in great state, being served by lords and knights: and this over, they took leave of the king, "mounted their mules, and so rode away" all through the city, "in greate pompe and glory to their lodgynges."

With respect to the first point alluded to, aid against the Turks, there appears to have been just cause for alarm, as Selim, the Turkish emperor, had recently subdued the Sultan of Egypt; and had thus, by the annexation of that powerful empire to his own already powerful dominions, rendered himself very formidable to the princes of Europe. The African Corsairs had also recently made several incursions upon the Italian coasts, from whence they had carried off the inhabitants of whole villages, and even towns, into slavery; so that the pope, unable to defend himself, had no other policy to pursue than to persuade the European princes to unite against the enemies of Christendom.

To gain over Henry to this confederacy was an object of the first importance, and therefore the pope joined Wolsey in commission with Campeius, signifying to him by a private communication, that notwithstanding the confidence which he had in the conduct and abilities of the latter, yet knowing the Cardinal's great weight and authority at court, and that he was able effectually to advise or dissuade any thing, he had especially required his assistance, in order to conduct and to facilitate

the negotiation on foot; and had, therefore, constituted and deputed him, "as an angel of peace," to transact it with an equal share of power and authority with his own ambassador.

At first, Henry listened with complacency, and even enthusiasm, to this negotiation; but observing that other princes, in joining the proposed confederacy, were more intent upon their own interests than the welfare of Christendom, he soon dropped all connexion with it, and the whole affair fell to the ground; particularly after the death of the warlike Selim had, in some measure, neutralised the fears of Europe.

But amongst the extraordinary powers granted to Wolsey, in conjunction with Campeius, was one most extraordinary; that whenever either of them should celebrate mass before the king or queen, they should then have power to declare plenary remission of sins to all persons of both sexes that were penitent or had confessed, or who might be in a true and sincere disposition to confess, provided they were present at the solemnity, at least when the benediction should be pronounced. The intention of this was supposed to be, to create a greater personal veneration for the two cardinals, by whose mouth the absolution was to be spoken; the "plenary remission" signifying, in the shape of an indulgence, the condition upon which God doth pardon the sinner, and ratify the sentence of the priest! But, perhaps, the most extraordinary

part of the business is, that Fiddes, a Protestant clergyman, a chaplain to the then Earl of Oxford (the famous Harley) should dedicate a page to the vindication of "plenary remission," as if the ceremony of absolution in our own rubric required it —a ceremony which, in its very form, marks the important difference and vital distinction between Protestant and popish absolution.

In the midst of all this bustle, Wolsey must, indeed, have been actively employed; for on the 31st of July, the French appointment of embassy took place, which was to negotiate a perpetual peace, to settle the restoration of Tournay, in lieu of which Francis offered a pension of 12,000 livres, and to arrange, not only the treaty of marriage between the Dauphin of France and the infant princess, but also whatever might be necessary for the expected meeting at Ardres.

Soon after this the see of Bath and Wells became vacant, by the deprivation of Cardinal Hadrian, who had excited the jealousy of the pope; and Henry scrupled not to ask it for his favourite from Pope Leo. It was speedily granted; and Wolsey not only received the temporalities from the king on the 28th of August, but had also a grant of the abbacy of St. Alban's. The latter grant has, however, by some been fixed at an earlier period; and Browne Willis thinks it must have been made in 1516, though the temporalities were not given up until 1521.

Along with Bath and Wells, the Cardinal soon had the administration of the sees of Worcester and Hereford granted to him by the pope; but it is to be observed, that these bishoprics were only held in commendem, or in farm, being already possessed by foreigners, who, it is said, were permitted by Wolsey to adopt nonresidence, but compounding with him for such indulgence by a share, the lion's share too, in the revenues.

These grants, however, although ostensibly conferred upon him by the pope, were the result of his royal master's kindness—a shower of favours well described by our own immortal poet in his play of Henry VIII.

"*K. Hen.* Have I not made you
The prime man of the state? I pray you, tell me,
If what I now pronounce, you have found true:
And if you may confess it, say withal,
If you are bound to us, or no. What say you?
Wol. My sovereign, I confess, your royal graces
Shower'd on me daily, have been more than could
My studied purposes requite; which went
Beyond all man's endeavours:—my endeavours
Have ever come too short of my desires,
Yet fill'd with my abilities: mine own ends
Have been mine so, that evermore they pointed
To the good of your most sacred person, and
The profit of the state. For your great graces
Heap'd upon me, poor undeserver, I
Can nothing render but allegiant thanks;
My prayers to heaven for you; my loyalty,
Which ever has, and ever shall be growing,
Till death, that winter, kill it."

But these favours were not confined to Henry alone, other monarchs offered their tributes of gratitude, particularly the King of Spain, who, in a letter of the 17th of September, thanks the Lord Cardinal Wolsey, for his loving letter and good advice, which he was resolved to follow. It must be remarked, that the affairs of the young Spanish monarch were, as yet, in a very unsettled state. Castile and Arragon were his by inheritance, but his regal power was not yet acknowledged by the other provinces of the Peninsula.

Court fêtes, as well as politics, now courted the Cardinal's attention; for the French embassy being arrived, he introduced them to the king at Greenwich, on the 23d of September. This embassy, expressly designed by Francis to gratify the vanity of Henry and his clerical friend, was the most splendid in the annals of diplomacy; for it consisted of a brilliant train of the gayest lords and ladies of France, accompanied by twelve hundred officers, guards, and servants.

Though apparently designed for show, yet it contained men well fitted for political business; between whom and Wolsey matters were soon so far arranged, that on the 2d of October a treaty was concluded with France for mutual support in case of rupture with the empire, and to anticipate the evil consequences of the expected election of Charles of Spain to the situation of heir apparent (or emperor elect) to that dignity: and Charles

was evidently aware of this, as appears from his conduct in regard to Tournay, a strong fortress, if in the hands of the French, to guard against invasion; for it is stated, that in expectation of its restoration to France, the Spanish ambassador actually offered to Wolsey a bribe, or douceur, of one hundred thousand crowns, if he would cause the citadel to be demolished beforehand. This, however, the Cardinal declined ostensibly, as being contrary to articles and to good faith; but more particularly because it was his policy now to court Francis, as most likely to aid him on the next papal vacancy.

Though so deeply engaged in foreign politics, Wolsey did not lose sight of the good things at home; for we find, that in October he received the royal grant of the office of bailiff of the honour or lordship of Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, with the place of park-keeper of Brantingisley, in that lordship. What object he could have in view in obtaining this grant, it is difficult to conceive; for all its apparent profits were from the herbage of the park, and the garden belonging to it; the grant too was for life. It is equally difficult to imagine what profits—legal profits at least—could result from a grant in November, of the custody of all things belonging to John Broughton, Esq., then defunct.

It would be unfair, at this distant period, to affix charges of interested and improper motives

upon the dead; yet a plain man, however skilled in the manners and customs of that day, must still feel at a loss to perceive any honest and lawful advantages that could accrue from either grant.

Yet Wolsey was not all for himself even then; for the foundation of the College of Physicians by Henry, in this year, 1518, was principally at his instigation, as the king himself expressly states in the preamble to the original charter, speaking of the Cardinal as one by whose advice, in unison with other eminent persons, he had been incited to that work.

Still did public and private jealousy exist against him, nor is it surprising, if we give credit to that writer who says, that no sooner did Wolsey find himself securely fixed in the legantine power, than of his own accord, and by virtue of his sacerdotal pre-eminence, he even dared to exercise the papal authority without the royal license. He first set up a court, which he called the Legate's Court, where he proved testaments, as in the Prerogative Office, and also heard general ecclesiastical causes, to the great annoyance and injury of the bishops. Nay, he visited the bishops, in his visitations, as well as the inferior clergy, without regarding whether they were exempt or not; and it was loudly asserted that his visitations were nothing better than a system of plunder, where, under pretence of reformation, he made himself master of much treasure, whilst his proposed reforms only produced

greater mischief. It is also stated, that in consequence of his example, not only priests, but all persons connected with the church, grew so proud that they could wear nothing but silks and velvets, whether in gowns, jackets, doublets, or shoes; so vicious, that they lived in open incontinence; and so insolent, upon the assumption of his authority and faculties, that no one dared to reprove or to oppose them, "for feare to be called heretique, and then thei would make hym smoke or bare a faggot;" alluding to the custom of forcing all suspected heretics, especially those of the reformed religion then spreading, to wear the picture of a faggot on their sleeve, an emblem which was downright ruin, not only exposing those who wore it to the contumely and malignity of the Catholics, but also preventing any person from daring to deal with or employ them.

It is not, indeed, surprising that the ignorant and bigoted priesthood of that day should have considered the Cardinal as the first man in the kingdom, and the royal and civil to be subordinate to the sacerdotal power; for Wolsey himself was so elated, as to believe that he was at least equal to the king—nay, so far did he go in the usurpation of more than royal state, that after performing mass, he obliged not only earls, but even dukes, to serve him with wine, to hold his napkin, and to present the basin at the lavatories.

Need we be surprised then, as the old chronicles

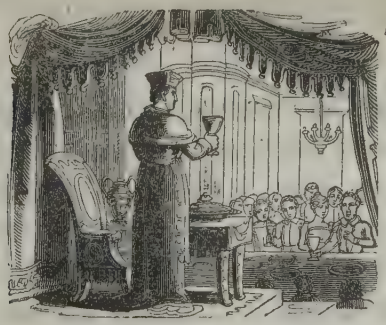
tell us, that "thus the pride and ambicion of the Cardinall and clergie was so highe, y^t in maner all good persons abhorred and disdeined it!"

That the possession of so much power as Wolsey held should excite personal jealousies, as well as public clamour, might well be expected; but he seems to have cared little about it, and to have thought of nothing but increasing his authority: for it is a circumstance not generally known of Wolsey, that all the places he held were not sufficient for his ambition, and he was anxious to have the office of Lord High Constable of England made permanent, and in his own person. The fact is stated expressly in a MS. Life of Sir Thomas More, in the Lambeth library, and published by Dean Wordsworth, in the second volume of his very interesting Ecclesiastical Biography. This MS. says, that very soon after Sir Thomas More was called to the privy council, Wolsey, who was then the lord president, proposed the restoration and permanence of the office in question, as a thing very expedient. After he had urged the question, repeating all his arguments in its favour, the members of the council seemed disposed to adopt the measure; but More thought otherwise; and though single in his opposition, said at once that he thought it an unmeet proposal, giving many reasons in support of his opinion. The council, in general, were much offended with what they thought a too forward interference in so

young a member, and one whose rank in life was the lowest of that assembly; and Wolsey himself was so displeased, as to consider himself injured by More, whom he addressed in terms not very remarkable for their politeness, however they might be for their apparent bitterness: "Are you not ashamed, Master More, so much to esteeme of your wisdom, as to think us all fools, and set here to keep geese; and you only wise, and set to govern England? Now, by my troth, thou showest thyself a very proud man, and a more foolish counsellor."

But More was not abashed with the intended rebuke, "and answered him according to his disposition in this merrie, yet wittie sort: 'Our Lord be blessed (quoth he), that my sovereign leage hath but one fool in so ample a senate'—and not a worde more. The Cardinal's drift was all dasht."

The exact date of this anecdote we cannot ascertain, but it was between 1516 and 1518, and with it we close this fourth section.



SECTION V.

1519—1521.

Death of the Emperor—Political Arrangements—Henry's Ambition and Disappointment—Surrender of Tournay—Preparations for the Meeting at Ardres—Royal Confidence in Wolsey—Politics at Rome—Extraordinary Coincidence of three Cardinals ruling Europe—Wolsey's Conduct in Regard to the Reformation—His illegal Proceedings in the Legantine Court—Anecdote of Henry, and Archbishop Warham—Changes in the Royal Household—Wolsey's Housekeeping—Anecdotes of Wolsey and Erasmus—Lectures founded at Oxford—Affair of the Duke of Buckingham—Foreign Pensions—Visit of the Emperor—Champ d' Or at Ardres—Courtly and chivalrous Anecdotes—Visit to the Emperor—Clamour against the Cardinal—Wolsey's Powers extended by the Pope—Whimsical Anecdote of the King and Bishop of Durham—Wolsey's Attendance at Court—Embassy to Bruges—Political Objects—Anecdotes—Death of Pope Leo—Disappointment of Wolsey's Ambition—Henry and Anne Boleyn—Plans against Queen Katharine, &c. &c.

We commence this section, and the year 1519, with an event important to the affairs of Europe—the death of the Emperor Maximilian, which took place on the 12th of January. On this occasion the French and Spanish monarchs both declared themselves candidates for the imperial

crown; but in this, Charles had the advantage of having been elected King of the Romans some time before. The pope, however, it has been stated, was not favourable to either of them; and, wishing rather to see some German prince, or even Henry of England, himself, chosen to that high office, took private measures accordingly. Henry's ambition was thus suddenly roused; and he sent Dr. Pace into Germany to sound the electors on the subject: but Pace found the ground completely pre-occupied by the two royal candidates already named, and Henry with sound sense, and good policy, gave up his object, determining to bestow his assistance and influence on Francis, in preference to his own nephew.

That Wolsey was the secret mainspring on this occasion cannot be doubted; and that Francis had engaged him to his interests is well known, from letters still extant, by which the French monarch appears to have offered to him, without disguise, and in the most direct terms, his assistance towards obtaining the papal throne. Francis even went so far as to desire Sir Thomas Boleyn to speak to Wolsey on the subject, promising to him that fourteen of his brother cardinals, and the whole House of Ursini, then predominant in papal politics, would stand forward to support his claims. Francis at the same time hinted, in a delicate way, to the ambitious Cardinal, that the Kings of England and France could not only make popes, but emperors

also, if they thought fit; yet guardedly insinuating that nothing but the great trust he put in the English monarch, and his friendship for that monarch's favourite, could induce him to put the papal authority into the hands of an Englishman.

During these negotiations the city of Tournay was delivered up to the French, on the 10th of February, agreeable to the treaty recently entered into; the Earl of Worcester, great chamberlain to the king, being the commissioner appointed in that business: and on this occasion Wolsey displayed his usual perspicuity, and strict attention to economy; for he previously appointed agents to sell off all the royal property on the spot, especially all provision made of materials for the king's buildings, consisting of stone, lime, and timber, for the repair and enlargement of the citadel, also the provisions collected for the victualling of it. He further directed that all the vagabonds, or other idle persons, who had no certain occupation or settlement, should be sent out of the town, and that every man should pay his debts—a measure of strict justice too little attended to at that period.

It was on the 23d of February that the French king signed the commission, already noticed, giving full powers to the Cardinal to act as his plenipotentiary, and to bind him by those acts, in all the arrangements for the meeting of the two monarchs at Ardres; yet, although it had been promised and expected, nay in some measure acted upon, Wolsey

thought it becoming his humility to refuse the acceptance of the powers thus granted to him, until he should have Henry's consent and licence for that purpose. The partial monarch considering this as a new proof of the singular fidelity and obedience which Wolsey bore towards him, instantly authorised him to accept the commission thus offered; and, as Wolsey no doubt expected would be the result of his political finesse, actually conferred upon him the same powers in regard to himself, and to the same extent as granted by the French king.

The political negotiations in Germany were still going on: in June the conferences of the electors began, and on the 28th of the month Charles V. was declared Emperor of Germany.

Amidst all these political manœuvres, Wolsey still contrived to keep up his interest at the court of Rome; and, accordingly, we find that on the 3d of August (some accounts make it a year earlier) the bull was signed for the deprivation of Adrian Bishop of Bath and Wells, and for the confirmation of the Cardinal himself in the superintendence and emoluments of that see.

Indeed, Wolsey's personal interest appears to have been very great, at this moment, with Cardinal Bembo, the pope's prime minister; and if we add to them Cardinal Ximenes, then minister in Spain, we may say that three cardinals then governed the world. It is true that the latter appeared to

interfere very little in foreign politics; and, if we may judge from facts, was the least self-interested of the three: for Ximenes gave up much of his time and attention to the moral and political amelioration of Spain; but it must be confessed at the same time, that he had the less inducement to mix in European politics, as a new world was just opened to his ambition by the discovery and early settlement of the American continent and islands. Accordingly, we find his name little mentioned, except in regard to Spain; and we feel the less occasion to enter into a parallel between him and Wolsey, which some biographers have done to a great length, though there is more contrast than parallel between them.

We have already noticed that Wolsey, though unwilling to admit of that species of reformation which struck at the very root of papal power, was yet so fully convinced of the necessity of reform in the church, as to have formed some very extensive plans upon that subject. Perhaps the clearest sketch we can give of his views in this respect may be found in a letter written to him by Bishop Fox, and which, of itself, is an unanswerable argument to those popish casuists who still contend for the purity of their church, in practice and in principle.—

"The satisfaction and pleasure, most reverend father, were inexpressibly great which I received from your last letter, by which I am informed that

your Grace is determined to reform the whole body of the clergy, and that you have notified and prefixed the day on which you will speedily begin and proceed upon that work, for which I have truly no less ardently wished than did Simeon, mentioned in the Gospel, to see the much desired and expected Messiah; and since I have received these letters of your Lordship's, I persuade myself that I have in a manner a sensible demonstration of a more entire and perfect reformation of the English ecclesiastical hierarchy than I could expect, or even hope to see effected, or so much as attempted in this age.

"I endeavoured, as 'twas my duty, to execute the same design within the compass of my own small jurisdiction, which your Lordship will soon finish in both the large provinces of this kingdom. For the space of three years, this important affair was the great end of my study, labour, and attention, till I discovered, what before I had not imagined, that all things relating to the primitive simplicity of the clergy (especially of the monastic state) were perverted, either by indulgences or corruption, or else become obsolete or exploded by the iniquity of the times. As this, in a declining life, overpowered my inclination and vigilance, so it took from me all hopes of ever seeing a reformation, even in my own particular diocese; but now I conceive, from your Lordship's most acceptable letter, an assured hope and full expectation of

seeing a reformation both public and universal; for I am fully persuaded, from many instances, that whatever your Lordship may, at any time, design or undertake, as it will be wisely concerted, your prudence and resolution will accomplish without difficulty or delay."

Fox then goes on to express his hopes that Wolsey's influence with the king and pope, and with all Christian princes, will tend to the accomplishment of his object, which was to "restore the whole estate of the English clergy, and of the monasteries, to their primitive rules,"—the consequences of which he supposes will be to abate the calumnies of the laity, to advance the honour of the clergy, and so to reconcile Henry himself towards them, that he and the nobility will be more their friends.

This was politic conduct in Fox, as affairs then stood; for he well knew the changeableness of Henry's disposition: and, although that monarch had just written his famous book against Luther, with the assistance of Fisher of Rochester, yet as Luther and the sturdy monarch were still engaged in not unfriendly correspondence, he had sense to see and to fear the coming storm, unless it could be averted by previous reformation in the English church. Such appear also to have been the Cardinal's sentiments. Yet Wolsey himself must have been short-sighted, for heavy charges have been made against him in consequence of the legantine

court which he established this year, at Westminster, under the immediate superintendence of Stephen Gardiner, afterwards so infamous in Mary's reign. Lord Herbert, in his Life of Henry, speaks very warmly on this subject, asserting, that in respect to this court, and employing a judge in it, he was charged with much rapine and extortion; for, making an inquiry into the life of every body, no offence could escape censure and punishment, unless the parties accused bribed handsomely, which they generally found to cost them less, besides being thereby exempted from the shame of public exposure. Wolsey is further accused of arrogating to himself the power of investigating the conduct of the executors of wills; he also summoned all religious or ecclesiastical persons before him, terrifying them with menaces until they made heavy compositions; until at length Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, felt himself obliged to report the matter to the king himself.

It has been said that Henry's answer was, that he should not have known any thing respecting the affair, unless Warham had mentioned it; to which he added that no man was so blind any where as in his own house, "therefore I pray you, go to Wolsey, and tell him if any thing be amiss, that he amend it."

Indeed, Wolsey seems now to have been so in-

toxicated with power and favouritism, as to have gone, in many cases, far beyond what common prudence would have dictated. We have already seen his political hypocrisy in regard to receiving the full powers as to the meeting at Ardres, and the subsequent grant of powers from Henry equal to those of the French king; a subject on which it will naturally be supposed, he must have been very careful in respect to the still humble exercise of that authority.

Yet such is the waywardness of the human heart, such the blindness of ambition, such the pride of upstart authority, that we find him engaged in, and practising a most bare-faced assumption of power, even more than regal, which was manifested by him on this very occasion of the proposed meeting of the Kings of England and France, at Ardres, afterwards called the Champ d' Or. It might naturally be expected that, in such a case, a *subject* would have *recommended* to the monarchs such forms and ceremonies as he might judge necessary.—Wolsey, however, felt differently, and seems to have availed himself of his commission to set himself above the throne; for which purpose he issued a most extraordinary mandate, beginning, " Thomas, Archbishop of Yorke, and Cardnal, &c." then he speaks of " *Wee* consideryng the honour, profit, &c."—" wee have made, declared, and ordeined, certein articles, ac-

cepted and approved, by ye same princes respectively, which thei will observe, and by thes presentes wee make, declare, and ordein as foloweth."

He then lays down a plan for the proposed meeting; and, towards the conclusion, we find, "Item, wee, Cardinall abovesaid, by expresse authority and power to us given, by thes presentes, bynde the saied princes to do, fulfill, and accomplishe, all and every the thynges abovesaied herein conteined."

But to return to domestic affairs, we have to record that a remarkable occurrence took place this year in regard to the king's household, which is mentioned by the old writers as a mere matter of fact, without respect to party politics; but as such a measure could neither have been proposed nor carried without the sanction of Wolsey, we are naturally led to suppose that he must have been influenced by motives much more powerful than those ostensibly held out. The old Chronicles state, that certain gentlemen of the privy chamber, who "through the kinges lenity in bearing with their lewdnes," forgetting themselves and their duty towards his Grace in being too familiar with him, not having due respect to his estate and degree, were removed by order taken by the council to whom the king had previously granted his authority to use their discretion in this case. The council did use their discretion, and replaced those feudal *dandies* by "four sad and ancient

knights,"—besides which other changes also took place.

It appears that when it was determined on to remove those gentlemen from about the king's person, they were ordered to appear before the Cardinal and council, that they might in a more formal and exemplary manner receive the sentence of their disgrace, which Fiddes gives in the following form,—" that having taken upon them, as had been publicly reported, to govern the king after their appetite, which was not honourable, they should therefore come no more to court."

Whilst thus preserving order and decorum in the royal household, Wolsey appears to have been no less careful in regard to his own; the fame of which was such, for splendour, knowledge of the world and manners, and all the requisites for a courtly career, that it was in this year, as stated by Groves, that he was induced to receive into his family several noblemen's and gentlemen's sons, who were placed there, as in a sort of university, for their better education and improvement in all politeness.

This also was the year in which he took into his service George Cavendish of Glemsford, in Suffolk, Esq. who is now generally believed to have been the real author of that biographical MS. commonly known as Cavendish's memoir, and formerly attributed to one of the direct ancestors of the Devonshire family.

The good fruits of this order and decorum were

soon evident; for Erasmus, in one of his epistles, says that the court was replenished with a greater number of learned men than any university: and again he asks, where is the school, or monastery, that hath at any time produced so great a number of men, eminent for their probity and learning, as the present court of England? Indeed, he further remarks that the English nation was, at that time, noted abroad for the learning and learned men wherewith it was replenished; as was the council also; and the king himself, renowned not only for that accomplishment, but for his sharp wit and parts likewise; which, he adds, must be attributed chiefly to the Cardinal's influence, and encouragement, and furtherance of good studies.

This eminent Dutch reformer states, in another place, that the Cardinal of York had then settled every thing in the republic of letters on a better footing than had ever been the case before, thereby encouraging all persons, by his liberality, to be studious; evidently alluding to his foundation of six lectures at Oxford, soon after followed by a seventh; but the dates of which appear, from various contending accounts, to be still uncertain. These lectures were founded entirely at his own expense, for the purpose of being given in the college which he intended to erect in that university; until which expected period they were read in the hall of Corpus Christi College. The lecture on theology was read by Dr. Brynknell, who rose

afterwards into such high favour, that he was specially appointed by the king to write against Luther, and this lecture was certainly established in or about 1519: after which came a philosophical lecture, of which we know nothing, but that the first lecturer, his name unknown, was described by the university, in a letter to the Cardinal, as "a professor who has highly merited of all our young students in philosophy;" stating, at the same time, that they should be the most ungrateful of men, were they to suffer him to wait upon his lordship without letters of recommendation from that learned body. The lectures on rhetoric and humanity were also opened this year, 1519; the others will be noticed agreeable to the most accurate account of their dates.

Notwithstanding so much of Wolsey's attention must have been occupied by these literary arrangements, political hostility was at work even in his mind, especially in regard to the Duke of Buckingham, if we are to give credit to numerous writers, although the Cardinal's name appears not in the official or judicial proceedings.

On this subject there has been much misrepresentation, and accounts differ widely; but the most generally received opinion is, that Wolsey had long felt a secret animosity against Buckingham, from circumstances trivial in themselves, but highly offensive to his pride and vanity. The story is, that the Duke of Buckingham once holding the basin

to the king, agreeable to courtly etiquette, the king had no sooner done than the Cardinal dipped his hands into the basin, which so incensed the duke, that he threw some of the water into the intruder's shoes. Wolsey threatened for this that he would sit upon his skirts; and the duke, in order to let the king know it without a formal complaint, went to court the next day in rich apparel, but without skirts to his doublet. This the king noticed, when the duke informed him it was to prevent Wolsey sitting upon his skirts. From this affair much political evil, it is said, proceeded; and many went so far as to assert that Wolsey actually suborned Charles Knevet, who stood forward to accuse Buckingham of a determination to take the king's life, in consequence of a vain prophecy that he himself should be king.

Wolsey is accused of having laid this affair before his majesty with great aggravations, which led to his arrest and trial, when he was condemned by the House of Peers, and suffered decapitation on Tower-hill, as we shall notice more at length.

The year 1520 opened with fresh negotiations for the proposed meeting at Ardres, and on the 10th of January, the Cardinal was favoured with a new commission from Francis to treat with even more ample powers, as his procurator, actor, commissary, and deputy *; which he is again stated

* The discrepancy of dates, and the unavoidable anachronisms, as stated in the preface, arising from the different

to have refused, until induced by circumstances similar to those on a former occasion. But even under these circumstances of royal favour, Wolsey must have been acting a double part, since we find, in Rymer *, a grant from Charles, dated at Compostella, of a pension of 5000 ducats. This appears to have been a promise, under the great seal of Spain, that Charles would engage the pope to grant to him the administration of the bishopric of Badajoz, in Castile, with a pension to that amount; to which he also added another pension of 2000 ducats, out of the bishopric of Placentia. These grants were during life; but when Charles had less occasion for Wolsey's influence, they were for years suffered to fall into arrear.

At present, however, his imperial majesty was anxious to counteract the good understanding ap-

modes of chronological calculation in use amongst the early biographers and historians, have probably led us into error in regard to this *new* commission. Later biographers, who appear not to have sufficiently adverted to the different modes of calculation, also state, with regard to *this* commission, that Wolsey objected to receive it, until persuaded to accept it by Henry, who gave him one as ample; while some authors describe this interchange of full powers, as we shall have occasion to notice, as having taken place in the early days of the meeting itself. It is difficult to determine amongst so many authorities, but we suspect that no more than one commission of this kind, by each monarch, was ever granted.

* Rymer, Fœd. xiii. 715.

parent between the French and English monarchs, and, therefore, determined on paying a personal visit to his uncle; but this, if a permitted visit, would have been the breach of a previous agreement, that neither Henry nor Francis should have an interview with the young emperor, or emperor elect, as he was at that precise period, until after their own proposed meeting. No sooner, therefore, did the French king hear of Charles's intended visit, than he commissioned his ambassadors at the English court to remonstrate against it; and so clearly, indeed, was the point in his favour, that Wolsey was obliged to descend to the subterfuge of putting the question hypothetically, supposing it possible that the emperor, in his voyage from Spain to Flanders, might be driven into some English port by stress of weather!

Some kind of pledge, however, was given that Charles's visit, were it to take place, should be merely a visit to his uncle and aunt in a family way; but that the king and the emperor would put off all political discussion until after the meeting at Ardres, when Henry proposed to have an imperial interview between Calais and Gravelines.

That Henry was anxious to see Charles in England, notwithstanding these negotiations, is evident from the fact of his wishing to postpone the meeting at Ardres, lest Charles should not

arrive previous to it; the month of May being nearly over, and the interview at Ardres appointed for the last day of the month. The buildings at Ardres were then in a course of preparation under English architects; and though there is no evidence of their being directed to work slowly, yet Henry, and Wolsey too, for *he* had his reasons for it, endeavoured to make the unfinished state of the works an excuse for a short postponement. But Francis would only consent to a postponement of three or four days, urging that his queen was then in the family way, and would be unable to attend the meeting were it not to take place immediately; the delay was accepted by Henry, and as affairs turned out, was sufficient for his purposes, the emperor arriving within the specified time, but not before the departure of the court from Greenwich: for the time now approaching rapidly for the meeting, Henry and Katharine, with their whole retinue, set off from Greenwich on the 21st of May, and arrived at Canterbury on the 25th, where they intended to keep the feast of Pentecost; and where they received intelligence of the probable speedy arrival of the emperor elect. Henry instantly sent officers and orders to Dover for his reception in all state and ceremony; and Wolsey set off, on the same errand, with all possible haste. In fact, the emperor was off Hythe at noon on the 26th; but the want of wind obliged him to

proceed to Dover in a boat that evening, and on his way he was met by the Cardinal, who received him with all due reverence.

Wolsey having lodged his imperial guest in the castle at Dover, information was sent to the king, who instantly rode over to that place to greet his royal relative. The two princes then rode together to Canterbury, where every attention was paid to the emperor, and his noble train of lords and ladies: but his stay was very short, as he sailed from Sandwich on the last day of May, on which day also Henry sailed from Dover for the intended meeting with the King of France.

It is generally believed, that during the short interview of Charles and Wolsey, they mutually endeavoured to secure each other, deceiving and deceived; the ambitious Cardinal engaging to keep the French politics in check, and the emperor promising to him his interest for the ascent of the papal throne!

It is also stated, as a courtly anecdote, that when Charles joined his illustrious relatives, and first saw the Princess Mary, then Queen Dowager of France, and lost to him by her recent union with Suffolk, he could not but remember that she had once been his own betrothed wife; and seeing her now still so young and so lovely—the loveliest woman, in fact, then at the English court—he was so much struck with her appearance, that he could not conceal his emotions.

On the subject of this visit, our Avonian bard seems to have adhered strictly to the political reports of the time, making Buckingham thus address the Duke of Norfolk:

——— "Charles the emperor,
Under pretence to see the queen his aunt,
(For 'twas, indeed, his colour; but he came
To whisper Wolsey), here makes visitation:
His fears were, that the interview betwixt
England and France might, through their amity,
Breed him some prejudice; for from this league
Peep'd harms that menaced him: he privily
Deals with our Cardinal; and as I trow—
Which I do well; for, I am sure, the emperor
Paid ere he promis'd; whereby his suit was granted,
Ere it was ask'd;—but when the way was made,
And paved with gold, the emperor thus desired;—
That he would please to alter the king's course,
And break the foresaid peace. Let the king know
(As soon he shall by me) that thus the Cardinal
Does buy and sell his honour as he pleases,
And for his own advantage."

We have stated the departure of the English court for France, and have to add that Wolsey accompanied it; but, except in a political point of view, it could have afforded him very little satisfaction, since the whole time was taken up in feats of arms, and in chivalrous display. In one or two instances, however, Wolsey had opportunities of exhibiting his pomp and state, particularly on Henry's arrival at Guynes, which was to be his head-quarters, from whence the Cardinal, as the

king's high ambassador, rode with an immense train of nobility, gentry, and bishops, to Ardres, then the residence of the French court. This he performed with such magnificence, that the Frenchmen actually wrote books upon the subject, describing the number of his attendants, all clad in crimson velvet, and ornamented with chains of gold; then followed notices of his great horses, mules, coursers, and carriages, laden with sumpters and coffers; also his great crosses and pillars borne before him; his pillow bere with its embroidered case; his two mantles displayed; and the immense train of servants, yeomen, grooms, &c. all clothed in scarlet. In short, his own personal state seems to have rivalled, if not excelled, the royal paraphernalia of the two potent monarchs.

At Ardres Wolsey stopped a couple of days, entertained by the king and court with honours and attentions that might have turned a head of less vanity than the Cardinal's, especially when we take also into the account the high powers with which he was entrusted by his own sovereign, enduing him with "full strength, power, and authoritie, to affirme and confirme, bynd and unbynde, whatsoever should be in question betwene hym and the French kyng, as though the kyng in proper person had been there presently."

It is said that when Wolsey opened these powers to the French council, they were astonished at

at their extent, and instantly stated them to their sovereign, who was so pleased with the Cardinal, and with the confidence reposed in him by Henry, that he directed equal powers to be granted to him, which was done under the affirmation of the French council; but Wolsey hesitated to receive the patent without Henry's approval, and, accordingly, it was transmitted to that monarch, who not only sent it back to Wolsey with full confirmation, but also considered it as a high mark of friendship towards himself. We suspect, however, that this is merely a second version, wrong in point of time, of an affair already recorded.

It was on Thursday the 7th of June that the personal interview of the two sovereigns took place, with a degree of splendour till then unparalleled, whence it was generally known by the appellation of "Le Champ d'Or," or the Field of Gold—a splendour which, no doubt, was indebted to Wolsey for much of its brilliancy.

This interview was followed by high scenes of chivalry for several days after, during which Wolsey, being a churchman, was of course in eclipse, unless he assisted with his learning and ingenuity the courtly punsters of the day, whose wits seem to have been almost worn out before the close of the ceremonies, if we may judge from a very far-fetched emblematical representation, or hieroglyphic, of the words in the prayer, "Libera me;" for the French king, on one occasion, exhibited him-

self in a dress of purple velvet, embroidered with little books in white satin, on each of which was written "a me," to which "Liber," a book, being prefixed, produced the pun "*Libera me!*"

Yet, if Wolsey could not appear in the field, he was at least master of the revels in the chamber; and there he failed not to fulfil the confidence reposed in him, particularly on Saturday the 17th of June, when Queen Katharine received the French king to dinner, that monarch, as Hall records in his Chronicle, being "right honourably served in all things nedefull; for forestes, parkes, folde, salt seas, rivers, moates, and pondes, were serched and sought through countreys for the delicacie of viandes: well was that man rewarded that could bring any thing of liking or pleasure." The feast over, Wolsey, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, and other great lords of the court, conducted the French monarch back to his residence at Ardres; in their way to which, in the vale, they were met by Henry with a large company of masquers, a scene which afforded much amusement to the two joyous sovereigns.

After a long series of joustings and tournaments, the Cardinal was admitted to exhibit himself in the exercise of his high ecclesiastical office; for which purpose, as Hall tells us, on the night of Friday the 22d of June, "was in the campe rered a large frame of tymber worke for a chapell place, whiche was tyled with riche clothes em-

broidered, wherein was made a stage of two degrees, with the chayre and cloth of state for the Lorde Cardynall, the altar apparelled with all juelles myssel of great riches; the same chapell thus finished the XXIII day of June, being Satterday, at houre convenient, the said Lorde Cardynall sang an high and solempne masse by note before the two kynges and queenes. The same done, indulgence was given to all hearers." Hall proceeds to observe, that of "this masse, in Flaunders arose much communicacion, and so much that the common voyce went, how the II kynges were sworne together on the sacrament, which was contrary; for the masse was for none other entent then to geve indulgence to the kynges."

After mass a sumptuous dinner took place; then, on the ensuing day, the two kings went to each other's residence, where they were severally received by the queen and ladies of each court; and, on their return, each to his palace, they met on the field of tournament, where their final interview took place, and they parted. This was on Midsummer day, Sunday the 24th of June; and the courtly ceremonies thus ended, we can only speak of them in the words of Hall, that "duryng this triumph so much people of Picardie and West Flanders drew to Guysnes to se ye Kyng of England and his honor, to whom vitailes of the court were in plentie, the conduicte of the gate raune wyne alwaies, there were vacaboundes, plowmen,

laborers, and of the bragery, waggoners and beggers, that for drunkenness lay in routes and heapes, so great resort thether came, that both knightes and ladies that wer come to see the noblenes wer faine to lye in haye and strawe, and held theim therof highly pleased."

On Monday the 25th of June, Henry and Katharine, followed by the Cardinal and all their court, removed from Guysnes to Calais, where it was intended to stop some days, for the purpose of an interview with the emperor; and, in the mean time, his majesty reflecting on the heavy expenses to which the nobility in his train had been exposed, by the state and magnificence which they were obliged to keep up, and considering that their large suites of gentlemen and servants were now, in a great measure, unnecessary, he authorised Wolsey to call all the nobles and gentlemen together, to whom the Cardinal expressed the high sense which the king had of their services, and, at the same time, gave them license to send home half the number of their attendants. This, no doubt, would have been as well received, as it was well intended; but Wolsey happening to bid them, "after their long charges to live warely," much offence was taken, for "this term warely was amongst the moste part taken for barely, at which saying the gentlemen sore disdained."

It is not impossible too, that this feeling of offence may have been much heightened by a strong

suspicion on the part of the most accurate observers amongst them, that all this pomp and magnificence on the part of the king was actually part of Wolsey's policy to impoverish the nobles and higher orders of gentry, by a lavish expenditure upon court ceremonies. If it really was so, it was but a continuation of the policy of the preceding monarch—a policy too that was strictly adhered to by Elizabeth during the whole of her reign.

It was not until the 10th of July that the emperor was so far advanced on his journey to the place of meeting, as to make it necessary for Henry to move; but on that day he set off for Gravelines, accompanied by Wolsey and a numerous train of nobles and gentry, where he was joined by the emperor, and received in the most costly and courteous manner.

How far Wolsey was now acting upon a secret and selfish policy, it is difficult to say; but it appears that the interview itself, when known at the French court, gave great offence: and Hall expressly says, that after it Englishmen were in France disdained, and in their suits there greatly deferred and had little right, and much less favour, so from day to day still more and more began heart-burning, and in conclusion open war did arise between the two realms.

After a variety of courtly ceremonies, maskings, revellings, &c. the two monarchs parted; and, in

the month of August, Wolsey accompanied the king on his return to England.

Though show and chivalry were the ostensible purposes of the meeting at Ardres, yet advantage was taken of it by Wolsey to arrange several political matters of great import to the various European states. In all foreign countries his conduct was much applauded; the Venetian senate, in particular, sending him a letter congratulating him on the friendly interview of the two monarchs, and calling it a work of his consummate wisdom, besides frequently using the phrases, "your most reverend power," and "other part of his majesty."

The pope also manifested his approbation, but in a more pointed manner; for as early as the 29th of July, he not only confirmed to him the pension of 2000 ducats upon the bishopric of Placentia, but also constituted him perpetual administrator of the see of Badajos, which he was to possess, notwithstanding any other grants might be made to him: these good things, however, had already been given to Wolsey by Charles, yet the bull calls them a papal grant.

But it appears that these foreign honours, and foreign politics, did not prevent Wolsey from paying due attention to affairs at home; for even in this year of business he found time to cause an account to be taken of all the parishes in England, which, by his book, called the Book of Thomas

Wolsey, Cardinal, are stated to amount to 9407, or rather such was the number of churches. In Dr. Gibson's time, indeed, there were but 9282; a difference not easily to be accounted for at the present day.

We are told also, that he continued to execute his high office of chancellor with such care and assiduity, that bills of complaint were preferred to him in such numbers, that it was totally impossible for him to pay them the due and necessary attention. To obviate this, in some degree, he procured a commission from the king, by which he was empowered to appoint delegates to hear causes, and to receive complaints, in his absence; but these commissioners did not answer the purpose for which they were appointed, so that the people, not meeting with that speedy distribution of justice which they expected, withdrew their complaints from the Court of Chancery, and applied themselves to the common law.

He was also very attentive to the commercial concerns of the kingdom at this period, especially of his own archiepiscopal see; which was manifested by a letter from the corporation of that city, in which they thank him for many past favours, and request his interest to procure for them the king's letters patent for the shipping of wool, fell, and lead, without any hinderance on the part of the ports of London and Newcastle; a favour which he did not fail to ensure to them, thereby

acquiring great popularity in York and its immediate neighbourhood.

Considerable clamour was, nevertheless, excited against him by the impoverished nobility and gentry, who had been tempted not only to spend all their money, but also to run considerably into debt, for their charges in the late royal interview; and it has been said that the Duke of Buckingham added much to Wolsey's ill-will against him, by his loud and frequent declamation against that expedition, censuring him as the contriver and adviser of it, for his own political objects and for sinister purposes. To this opinion Shakespeare evidently leaned, when, in his Henry VIII., he makes Buckingham exclaim:

> "Why the devil,
> Upon this French going out, took he upon him,
> Without the privity o'the king, to appoint
> Who should attend on him? He makes up the file
> Of all the gentry: for the most part such
> Too, whom as great a charge as little honour
> He meant to lay upon: and his own letter,
> The honourable board of council out,
> Must fetch him in the papers."

To which Abergavenny, his son-in-law, adds:

> "I do know,
> Kinsmen of mine, three at the least, that have
> By this so sicken'd their estates, that never
> They shall abound as formerly.
> *Buck.* O, many
> Have broke their backs with laying manors on them

For this great journey. What did this vanity
But minister communication of
A most poor issue?"

But, in the midst of this contumely, the Cardinal did not forget his desire to encourage the dispensation of knowledge; and towards the close of the year, he was very active in completing the establishment of the Oxford lectures; for then commenced the lecture on medicine, by Thomas Musgrave, M.A., as generally surmised, though there is no positive record of its existence previous to 1522. The mathematical lecture also commenced under Nicholas Crutcher, or, perhaps, Kreutzer, he being a native of Holland, of whom it was said, "He is a person of so great probity and goodness, that he deserves a better fortune than is common to mathematicians; and so great a master of his art, that he merits to be called so by way of eminence and peculiar distinction." To these we may add the Greek lecture; a matter of considerable importance, when we reflect on the extraordinary prejudices existing against that language, especially at Cambridge; nay, to such a pitch was it carried, even at Oxford, that a party was formed who called themselves *Trojans*, assuming the names of the Trojan heroes, insulting with threats and menaces those who studied Greek, and in various instances actually committing personal assaults, in addition to opprobrious language.

The probability is, that the priests, fearing the spread of Luther's doctrines amongst an enlightened people, were anxious to keep the Greek Testament out of the hands of those who might thus find out the errors and mis-statements of their own version; but Wolsey feared Luther also, and yet, whilst active against him, was active in the encouragement of Greek studies. Indeed, in the course of this and the following year, and evidently with a willing mind, he paid strict obedience to the papal bull, in declaring all Luther's books forbidden to the faithful, and in seizing them wherever information of their existence could be procured.

In the midst of this political and ecclesiastical bustle, however, the Cardinal was not neglectful of domestic comfort; but continued his erection of Hampton Court, already finished in part, and where he sometimes retired from the weighty affairs of state, to reflect in silence and solitude, or to solace himself with lighter cares than those of a public life.

The year 1521 opened with the unhappy trial and execution of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, certainly of the blood royal, but most certainly not possessing any very near chance of succession to the throne, unless the salique law had been the law of England; but which would also, of itself, have been a bar to his claims, since they could only have arisen from his descent from Anne

Plantagenet, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, one of the sons of Edward III. It was therefore absurd to suppose, as he was charged, that he could have thought for a moment of causing the death of Henry for his own advancement, without also intending the murder of his sisters, a charge not attempted to be brought against him.

The whole of the charges were indeed so futile, and evidently on the oaths of suborned witnesses, that the whole has been thrown upon Wolsey, as arising from his own personal quarrel with that nobleman. This, if true, would affix an indelible stain upon the Cardinal's memory; but, if true, he must have exercised a most extraordinary degree of caution, since throughout the strict historical details of the trial and sentence, the name of Wolsey is not even to be met with. Yet, in the time of Elizabeth, this certainly was the general opinion, or else Shakspeare would not have ventured on what might otherwise have been instantly contradicted. The first speech of Buckingham, on his arrest, shows suspicion of foul play—

"*Serg.* Sir,
My lord the duke of Buckingham, and earl
Of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, I
Arrest thee of high treason, in the name
Of our most sovereign king.
Buck. Lo you, my lord,
The net has fall'n upon me; I shall perish
Under device and practice."

Again, when told that Hopkins, now a creature of the Cardinal's, and once employed by himself as his surveyor, is one of the witnesses, he exclaims—

> "My surveyor is false; the o'er-great Cardinal
> Hath show'd him gold: my life is spann'd already:
> I am the shadow of poor Buckingham;
> Whose figure even this instant cloud puts on,
> By dark'ning my clear sun. My lord, farewell."

And the trial scene speaks quite as plainly, when Wolsey thus addresses the surveyor (though in point of real fact, it does not appear that he was even present at the trial):

> "*Wol.* Stand forth; and with bold spirit relate what you,
> Most like a careful subject, have collected
> Out of the duke of Buckingham.
> *K. Hen.* Speak freely.
> *Surv.* First, it was usual with him, every day,
> It would infect his speech, That if the king
> Should without issue die, he'd carry it so,
> To make the sceptre his: These very words
> I have heard him utter to his son-in-law,
> Lord Aberga'ny; to whom by oath he menaced
> Revenge upon the cardinal.
> *Wol.* Please your highness, note
> This dangerous conception in this point.
> Not friended by his wish, to your high person
> His will is malignant; and it stretches
> Beyond you, to your friends.
> *Q. Kath.* My learn'd lord Cardinal,
> Deliver all with charity."

But we shall quit this uncertain subject, and

proceed to other points; amongst which we may first notice that, such was the influence that Wolsey now possessed at the court of Rome, that he not only obtained a new bull from Leo X. prolonging his legateship for two years*, but also another, empowering him to make fifty knights, fifty counts palatine, the same number of chaplains, and of accolites (officers confined to the catholic church, who, under the subdean, perform some ecclesiastical services to the priests and deacons), and also forty notaries apostolic, who should have the same privileges as those made by the pope, and which were indeed very extensive, for their power extended to legitimate bastards, to give degrees in arts, in law, medicine, and divinity, and to grant all species of dispensations. Had such a bull, with its notarial power, been put in force, it could not have failed to have been very lucrative to the Cardinal; but we have no record of its exercise, in England, at least. His forbearance, on this occasion, no doubt arose from an inward conviction, that public opinion had already gained too much influence in England to admit of the exercise of so much power beyond the law: Wolsey, however, was less scrupulous when, on the 15th of May, he received another bull from Leo, granting to him full powers to regulate the incipient Lutheranism which was

* Rymer Fœd. xiii. 739.

spreading rapidly amongst the laity, for he instantly issued a legantine mandate* to all the bishops, directing them to take speedy and effectual measures for calling in and destroying all books or MSS. containing the errors of Luther; accompanied with orders for processes against all the professors and favourers of such books, heresies, &c. &c. Yet such was, and we fear still is, the duplicity of these ministers of the Romish church, that the pope and the conclave, a very few weeks afterwards, did not hesitate to send another bull to the Cardinal, authorising him to grant licenses to such as he thought proper to read the works of "that pestilential heretic," Martin Luther, *especially* to those who desired to read them with a design to write against them!

It is not our wish to render this biography a controversial essay, either on religion or politics—but still, to apply the experience of past times to the present, we may ask, what is this but the old system of indulgence, for venial sins to be committed in the body, now applied to moral perceptions, and *supposed* mental error? What is the plain English of it but to say,—"pay for it; and you may do what you please and think what you please: but if you pay not, then fire and faggot in this world, and fire and brimstone in the next, shall be your portion!"

* See Wilkins' Concilia, iii. p. 690; also Strype's Ecclesiastic Mem. i. p. 36.

From these occurrences we see that, whatever friendship he possessed for the reformers personally, or whatever might have been Wolsey's sentiments in regard to a partial reformation of the church, he was not disposed to go the lengths which Martin Luther had already done; and therefore it is not surprising that he hesitated not thus to enforce the papal sentence against that reformer, which was publicly proclaimed at St. Paul's Cross, on the 12th May, 1521, when the Cardinal himself, attended by nearly all the bishops and mitred abbots of the kingdom, went in procession to the cathedral of the metropolis, and where he was received with the highest ecclesiastical honours*: a proceeding evidently antecedent to the bull already mentioned, if dates are correct.

Having been incensed, or more properly censed, on his arrival at the church, he proceeded to the high altar under a canopy of cloth of gold borne by four bishops; and, having made his oblation, went from thence to St. Paul's Cross, where a scaffold had been previously erected. There he took his station under his cloth of estate, with his two crosses as usual, and his feet resting on a bench on which sate the papal ambassador on the right, with the Archbishop of Canterbury next to him, and on his left the Imperial ambassador,

* Brit. Mus. Cott. Coll. Vit. B. iv.

next to whom was the Bishop of Durham; whilst all the prelates and abbots sat on two forms.

Fisher, then Bishop of Rochester, was appointed to preach the sermon on this occasion, which he is stated to have done "by the consent of the whole clergy of England, by commandment of the pope, against one Martin Eleutherius, and all his works; because he erred sore, and spake against the holy faith; and denounced them accursed which kept any of his books."

To enforce this discourse, and "suit the action to the word," many copies of Luther's works, as then published, were burnt in the churchyard, even during the sermon; and, when the ceremony was over, the Cardinal invited the whole of the mitred clergy to dine with him at his palace at Westminster.

In the preceding statement, the "Bishop of Durham" is said to have sat next to the Imperial ambassador; yet from some dates, Wolsey himself must have been the mitred possessor of that episcopal palatinate: since it is recorded in the History of Durham that on the 11th of March, 1521, Wolsey being *then* Bishop, he was eager to exercise every right or claim resembling those which appertain to royalty; and accordingly, on that day, a patent was made out for supplying the mint there with coining-irons from the Tower; but for pennies only. It is probable, however, that the date in the Durham record was according

to the not unusual method of ending the year at Lady-day; so that it really was the 11th of March, 1523; a circumstance which illustrates the chronological difficulties hinted at in the preface. Without wasting further time on a subject not of a very high importance, we may notice, that a curious anecdote has been related of Wolsey and Ruthall, Bishop of Durham, whom he succeeded in that see. Ruthall was consecrated in 1508, and in the course of a dozen years had accumulated such wealth, that he was reputed the richest subject in the realm. Having been often employed by Henry on diplomatic concerns, that monarch thought proper to give him a commission to draw up an account of the revenues of the crown, which he performed with his usual ability and accuracy; and, immediately afterwards, he drew up an account of his own estates and those of the bishopric. These accounts were bound in vellum, in separate volumes, but so like each other, that they could not be readily distinguished by their outsides; and in that state they were placed together on a shelf in his library. Sometime in 1521*, Wolsey, being on a visitation in the north, was directed by the king to procure the account which he had ordered; and the Cardinal having done so on his arrival at Durham, the bishop commanded one of his servants to

* This *authentic* date verifies the chronological correction in a preceding page.

bring him the book bound in vellum; but the servant brought the wrong one, which Ruthall inadvertently, and without examination, delivered to Wolsey for the king. From this book it appeared that the good bishop was actually worth £100,000; but no sooner did he discover his mistake, which was not until his arrival in London some months afterwards, than he felt such terror for his property, perhaps for his life, that he fell sick and died of despair, in 1522. This made an episcopal vacancy, the value of which Wolsey was now too well acquainted with to let it slip through his fingers; so that he was immediately appointed his successor: but the only public action recorded of him, during the seven years that he held the see, was his rebuilding one third of the Tyne-bridge, on the southern side. This rapid accumulation of wealth by a bishop was not in accordance with the professed poverty of the clergy, who, as expressed in a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to Wolsey, should they be obliged to pay the demand then made on them by the king and Cardinal, must thereafter live in continual poverty, and many of them, unable longer to support their aged parents, be forced to turn them out to beggary. He further states this curious fact, that the clerical claim was, that the goods of the church were the goods of the poor. —"Bonum pauperum, et non regum neque nobilium."

But if the secular clergy were poor, the en-

dowed monasteries, as the Cardinal well knew, were rich enough to excite both his and Henry's cupidity; and, on pretence of appropriating their wealth to scholastic and other useful purposes, they failed not to take example from the Bishop of Rochester, who first set it to them, by advising the dissolution of the monastery of Bromhall, for the support of St. John's College, Oxford.

Wolsey was, at this period, a constant attendant at court, whenever the duties of his high offices would permit him. On Sundays, in particular, he always went to Greenwich with all the pomp of his usual mode of travelling, though going by water. His custom was to take his own barge at York-stairs with his gentlemen and yeomen standing round him, whence he proceeded to Three Crane-stairs; and, landing there, to ride through Thames-street to Billingsgate, preceded by all his ecclesiastical and chancery paraphernalia. It is curious to notice this part of his plan, which was evidently to avoid passing through London-bridge; and from thence we may perhaps infer that its fall, even then, was considered dangerous.

At Billingsgate he again embarked, and on his landing at Greenwich was received by the superior officers of the royal household, and carried up to the palace as it were in triumph. On those occasions, when so much pomp and so many attendants were displayed, he always returned to town in the evening, and with similar form and ceremony.

In this strict attention to etiquette, the Cardinal had two, perhaps three, objects in view—to preserve his personal influence with the king; to impress a high sense of his dignity upon the people; and to gratify his own ambition and love of show.

Notwithstanding Wolsey's activity in state affairs at home, and the pleasure which the king enjoyed in his society at court, or at some of the Cardinal's own residences, where his majesty was a frequent visitor, yet his diplomatic exertions abroad were often found necessary, particularly during this year, on an embassy, both to the King of France, and the Emperor, then at Bruges.

This embassy arose out of the following circumstances. Soon after the royal interviews in the preceding year, the King of France had declared open war against Charles V., in which the greatest part of Europe was involved, or likely to be so; a circumstance the more particularly unfortunate, as at that very period the Turks were pursuing their ravages in Italy and Greece, almost without opposition. These considerations induced Henry to become arbiter between the contending parties, and accordingly Wolsey was appointed to the important duty: with powers also* to treat of amity with the French king, and to counteract

* Rymer's Fœd. xiii. p. 749. 9th July, 1521.

the duplicity of Pope Leo, who had entered into one private treaty with Francis, to assist him in the conquest of Naples from the Emperor, and into another with Charles, engaging to aid him in the conquest of the Duchy of Milan from France.

That the appointment of Wolsey to this mission must have been agreeable to the Emperor is evident from the fact of his having written from Ghent, on the 20th of July, to the Cardinal, an autograph letter, in which he invited him to come over, on a visit, that he might open all his affairs to him; a circumstance that may have hastened Wolsey's departure, as he landed at Calais on the 2d of August, in the professed character of mediator. At Calais he was received by the ambassadors both of France and Austria; but there soon appeared much haughtiness and distrust on both sides, which the Cardinal could not allay, and was therefore obliged to temporize. Even towards himself, at least on the part of France, some personal distaste was felt; in fact, Lord Herbert affirms that Francis declined, as much as he could, his arbitrement, not thinking him an equal judge. This, if correct, only stimulated Wolsey to action; and when the French plenipotentiaries, in full confidence of their monarch's support and approbation, objected to his going to Bruges to meet the Emperor in private conference, threatening that if he did so they

would break off the conferences and return to Paris, he coolly told them, that if they did he would declare them to be the aggressors and enemies to peace and to the King of England: under which menace, they found themselves obliged to wait his return from the special embassy, which, it has been said, was on two special points—first, to propose a marriage between Charles and his cousin, the infant princess (Mary); and, secondly, to arrange a Treaty of Indemnity, evidently for Wolsey's private benefit, since its object was to persuade the Emperor to take upon himself the payments for Tournay, should Francis fail in their fulfilment; but this appears contrary to all common sense, since there was nothing offered to Charles in lieu.

There are several curious circumstances on record respecting the embassy, which deserve a place here. We are told that "forasmuch as the old Emperor Maximilian was dead, and for divers other reasons touching his Majestie, it was thought fit that about such weighty matters, and to so noble a prince"—Charles V—"the Cardinal was most meete to be sent on this embassage; and he being one ready to take the charge thereof upon him, was furnished in every respect like a great prince, which was much to the honour of his Majestie, and of this realme."

It appears that his pomp and appointments were both as cardinal and ambassador. His

suite was very numerous: the gentlemen were clothed in livery coats of the best crimson velvet, with chains of gold about their necks; whilst the yeomen and all the inferior officers were in dresses of fine scarlet cloth "guarded with blacke velvet, one hand breadth."

On his joining the Emperor at Bruges, who had even rode out to meet him, his suite was distributed amongst the most respectable inhabitants, the Emperor issuing orders that no individuals, upon pain of their lives, should take any money for the accommodation thus enjoyed.—"No, although they were disposed to make costly banquets, further commanding their said hosts that they should want nothing which they honestly required, or desired to have." For all this, however, the inhabitants were paid daily by the Emperor's officers, who called each morning, at every house where Englishmen were lodged, for that purpose, and to "fetch away their stuffe." This alludes to what was called their "living" of the night before; for at every house, "first the officers brought a casteele of fine manchet, then two silver pots of wine, and a pound of sugar, white lights and yellow lights, a bowle of silver and a goblet to drinke in, and every night a staff torch. This was the order of their livery every night."

This imperial interview occupied thirteen days, when Wolsey returned to Calais, to conclude the

negotiations between the plenipotentiaries of both powers; but he found those of France extremely jealous of his proceedings, though anxious for his return. The proposed treaty of congress was soon completed and executed, being first prepared by Wolsey; but the articles were mere trifles in themselves, and the Cardinal did not escape censure, that he went too far in placing himself on a level with the King of England, as joint guarantee of the treaty! When Wolsey left England, he took with him the great seal, and during his protracted stay at Calais he sealed all papers and patents that were sent over to him; but this afterwards formed a heavy item in the charges against him, and with some appearance of justice also, for the want of the great seal actually rendered it impossible legally to appoint the sheriffs at the proper period appointed by law.

During his stay he was not forgetful of affairs at home, as there is a letter extant from him to the Bishop of Salisbury, directing him by special authority to "procede agaynst the enormytes, mysgovernances, and slanderus levynge, longe tyme heretofore hade, usede, and contynuede by the priores and the nonnes for the tymes beyng," in that diocese. This letter was dated in October; and, in a few weeks afterwards, he set off for England, joining the court at Bletchingly on the 27th of November.

But a wider field of ambition now opened to

him in the death of Pope Leo *, which took place on the 1st of December; and Wolsey no sooner

* The character of this pope is very well drawn up in a recent work of fancy and the arts, of which an extract is here offered:

"Giovanni de Medici, afterwards Leo X., was admitted into holy orders at the age of seven years. Soon afterwards the French king, Louis XI., appointed him to the archbishopric of Aix, and then to the abbacy of Pasignano, when it was found that in fact the archbishop was not yet dead. He obtained a cardinal's hat at the age of thirteen, and when only thirty-eight years old he was elected pope.

"The rest of his life is, in truth, inseparable from the general history of politics, religion, manners, literature, and the arts, in his time. 'It was difficult, however,' says Aretino, 'to judge whether the merit of the learned, or the tricks of buffoons, afforded most delight to the pope. The deformities and vices, the negligences and errors of men—nay, even idiotcy, were made a matter of mirth.' Leo was as sumptuous in his feasts as he was ostentatious in his literary patronage. His table was more splendid than that of any preceding pontiff. A judge of wines and sauces was always a welcome guest. The simplicity of Adrian, his successor, was, in comparison, called meanness. That unostentatious pope found that the treasury had been ruined by the prodigality of Leo. Economy in every branch of expense was used by the new pontiff, and the tribe of dismissed parasites indulged their rage in calumny. They even satirised Adrian's German taste, which preferred *beer* to wine. In Leo's imperial establishment there were one hundred gentlemen, whose sole duty it was to attend him occasionally on horseback. Adrian reduced the number to twelve.

"Leo's favourite amusement was the chase. The affairs of the papacy often were suspended for several days together,

heard of it than he sent Dr. Pace * to Rome, to negotiate with the conclave generally, and with

on account of this diversion. The close of a successful day of hunting was the best time of soliciting a favour from the pope. But the most elegant relaxation of Leo was in music. He was himself a good musician, and used the great power of his station in encouraging the science. He promoted some men in the church, solely on account of the improvements which they had made in the choral service.

"Of literature he was the hereditary patron. He pursued, with the ardour of Cosmo, and Lorenzo de Medici, the search after ancient manuscripts. His two secretaries rank in the first class of learning. His agents penetrated into every place where literary remains could, in any probability, be concealed. The most important discovery was made in the abbey of Corvey, in Westphalia, where the first five books of the Annals of Tacitus, that had been so long lost, were found. He enlarged the library of the Vatican, re-established the Roman university, created the Greek Gymnasian; he founded even an Oriental printing-press at Rome. He had been accomplished in literature by Polixiano, and Demetrius of Chalcis, two of the most finished Greek scholars in the fifteenth century. In truth, no man possessed more elegant scholarship than Leo. Yet, while he neglected Ariosto, Buonarotti, and Da Vinci, he befriended Giovio and Pietro Aretino, men who were as detestable for the immorality of their lives as for the venality of their pens.

"An alchymist, who wasted his time and talents in the vain pursuit of the transmutation of inferior metals into gold, wrote a poem on his favourite theme, and dedicated it to Leo, whose profusion made him stand much in want of such an art: in return for this dedication, the pope presented the author with an empty purse."

* Our Avonian bard has given currency to a charge against Wolsey in respect to this person, which, however, we have

the cardinals in private, but an election took place before his arrival: and it is also a fact *, that Charles V. actually wrote to his ambassadors at Rome, to solicit the conclave to put Wolsey into the vacant chair. In doing thus, he so far fulfilled his previous promise to Wolsey: but his duplicity was soon apparent, though the Cardinal had made him great promises in return for his solicited interference; especially the very remarkable notice,

no reason to consider well-founded. Shakespeare, indeed, cannot be made responsible for common report, when he introduces the following dialogue between Campeius and the Cardinal, whilst speaking of Gardiner.

"*Cam.* My lord of York, was not one Dr. Pace
In this man's place before him?
Wol. Yes, he was.
Cam. Was he not held a learned man?
Wol. Yes, surely.
Cam. Believe me, there 's an ill opinion spread then
Even of yourself, Lord Cardinal.
Wol. How! of me?
Cam. They will not stick to say, you envied him;
And, fearing he would rise, he was so virtuous,
Kept him a foreign man still; which so grieved him,
That he ran mad, and died.
Wol. Heaven's peace be with him!
That 's Christian care enough: for living murmurers,
There 's places of rebuke. He was a fool;
For he would needs be virtuous: that good fellow,
If I command him, follows my appointment;
I will have none so near else. Learn this, brother,
We live not to be griped by meaner persons."

* Brit. Mus. Col. Vit. b. iv. 103.

that as the King of England claimed a right to be arbiter of Christendom, it would then be his part to be instrumental towards the exercise of that right, but that he should be always ready to dispose that king to the best offices, and the strictest correspondence, with his imperial majesty.

It has been said that Wolsey considered himself more secure of the papal chair on the death of Leo than on any other occasion; having, as he believed, not only many cardinals in his favour at Rome, but also the emperor himself. As to the latter, however, he was completely disappointed; for Charles, notwithstanding his open aid, letters, and promises, particularly recommended to the conclave his own school-master, Cardinal Adrian*, who was elected, not only in consequence of the emperor's letters, but also for his learning, virtue, and worth.

When the election took place, Wolsey was very indignant; and it has been asserted, at least by his enemies, that it spurred him on for revenge against the emperor, to offer to Henry every excitement that could lead him to a separation from his queen, Katharine.

On this subject it has been brought forward as matter of serious charge against him, that although, at first, he would not himself appear to

* In 1511, Wolsey had actually solicited Henry to support the same Adrian, on a similar vacancy.

meddle in the affair, yet that he sent for Langland, Bishop of Lincoln, and then confessor to the king, and told him of certain scruples and doubts which he now declared himself to be puzzled by respecting the legality of the royal marriage; adding, "I fear it is not as it should be, for very many learned men hold it unlawful for him to marry his brother's wife; and forasmuch as the charge of the king's soul lies on your hands, I think it but your duty to inform his majesty of the peril and danger he stands in."

With this plea he urged the confessor so strongly, that the latter, at length, consented to broach the matter to Henry, and so far to admonish him on the subject, as to induce him to have the question debated and discussed by the most learned men, both in England and elsewhere, in order to satisfy and tranquillise the consciences of his faithful and loving subjects; not one of whom, however, with the exception of the Cardinal himself, felt any uneasiness about the matter.

When Henry first heard the doubt started, he was, or appeared to be, much amazed, and also much grieved, saying to the confessor, "What, my lord! let us take heed what we do. Consulta et definita, to call again into question!" which induced Langland, at once, to tell Wolsey that he would meddle no more in the affair: but the revengeful Cardinal was not thus to be put off from his plan, exclaiming, "What, my lord, shall the

breath of a man make you start one jot from your duty? Be he king, be he emperor, you do what becomes a priest and a bishop. Speak to the king again. Urge, obsecra, opportune, importune. Move the matter once more, and I shall be present. Let it not be known that I am thus much acquainted with it; and then I will rid you of your labour."

It has been denied, though not on any good authority, that Wolsey's object was now to induce Henry to form a matrimonial alliance with France, by a match with the Lady Eleanor, Duchess of Alençon, and sister to the French monarch; and it must be acknowledged, that if the Cardinal had intended the most potent revenge against his imperial enemy, nothing could have been adopted more likely to gratify that spirit, or to give pain to the emperor, than the slur of incest, through a course of twenty years, thus cast upon his aunt, whilst, at the same time, he would have given a powerful ally to the French king, then at war with his imperial majesty. It was on this account that Wolsey himself entreated to be sent ambassador to France; but even then Henry was playing a double part with him, being already enamoured of the Lady Anne Boleyn.

Of these negotiations the unhappy Katharine was totally ignorant; indeed she was now so gracious to Wolsey, that in the early part of the year she had chosen him as her special companion in a

progress to Cambridge, where he was received with honours approaching almost to royalty.

In the midst of state affairs, and foreign diplomacy, the Cardinal still found leisure to attend to his own private objects; and this year he had nearly finished Hampton Court, in a style of architectural elegance (*Gothic* however) which he is said to have adopted for the purpose of ingratiating himself more with Pope Leo, then considered as the principal patron of the arts.

To Leo X. Europe certainly owed much for the revival of art, particularly in architecture, since under his auspices, and those of his family, the Medici, students were encouraged to apply themselves to antique models, and to measure their proportions, that they might design the orders with precision. On this subject, it is well observed by an elegant writer on the arts, that some of the first cotemporary architects, such as Bramante, Sangallo, and Michelagnoulo, erected edifices which excelled those of the Greeks, both in magnificence and regularity, in such a degree, as to offer the best examples to other nations. In short, it may fairly be considered, that the commencement of the church of St. Peter is to be regarded as the epocha of the revival of architecture in Europe; and, as Dallaway remarks, the age of the magnificent Leo X. must be always interesting to the lovers of literature and the arts.

To the revival of classic architecture Wolsey,

however, seems to have paid but little, if any, attention. To painting also he was equally indifferent, though Holbein was a favourite with Henry and his court: perhaps this may have arisen from the circumstance of that painter being particularly patronised by the Duke of Norfolk, long the political rival of the Cardinal.

If he failed in his wishes to ingratiate Leo, yet he was not the less successful with his own monarch, since, in the course of the very last month of this year, we find him receiving a grant of several manors in Lincolnshire, which came into the hands of the king during the minority of the young Earl of Derby, only eleven years of age, at the death of his parent; also the king's brief, dated 7th of December *, conferring upon him in full the cure and administration of the monastery of St. Alban's, both in spirituals and in temporals, which had before been partly conferred "in commendam."

* Rymer's Fœd. xiii. 760.

SECTION VI.

1522—1524.

Title of Defender of the Faith conferred upon Henry—Emperor visits England—Forced Loans, and popular Discontents—Wolsey's Support of maritime Rights—War with France—City Loans, and Anecdotes—Various ecclesiastical Grants, and royal Favours—Progress of Reformation—Monastic Vices—Clerical Hospitality—Wolsey's Promises and good Offices to Oxford—Parliamentary Debates and Struggles for Independence—Clerical Exactions—Legantine Power confirmed, and finally for Life—Is made Bishop of Durham—Visit of the King of Denmark to England—Death of Pope Adrian, and further Intrigues for the Popedom—General Politics of Europe—Exercise of legantine Power—Opposition of the Priesthood to forced Loans—Notifies and commences the Erection of his new School at Ipswich, and Cardinal College at Oxford—Visits to monastic Houses for Reformation—Suppression of several—Courtly and priestly Flattery—First Establishment of medical Lectures in London—First Appearance of Anne Boleyn at Court—Various Anecdotes—Causes of her early Enmity to the Cardinal—Courtly Sports—Masquerades, &c. &c.

In January, 1522, or a year earlier according to some chronologists, the new pope sent a legation to England, to present the king with the bull conferring on him the title of Defender of the Faith; and, on the 2d of February, the court

being then at Greenwich, Wolsey, accompanied by the papal ambassador, attended by a numerous train of nobles, presented himself at court, where the king met them at his chamber-door, welcoming them both, as if both had just arrived from Rome; for Wolsey took especial care that he should be named in every legation that came from the pope.

The royal welcome concluded, the Cardinal made a most extraordinary speech, or oration, beginning thus: "High and victorious king, it hath pleased our Lord God to indue your grace with a great multitude of manifold graces, as a king elect in favour of the high Heaven, and so appeareth presently by your noble person, so formed and figured in shape and stature, with force and pulchritude, which signifieth the present pleasure of our Lord God wrought in your noble grace." After this high flown panegyric in praise of the royal person, the wily Cardinal gave equal praise to his wisdom, prudence, and learning; concluding with information that the pope had sent to his majesty an act in bull under lead, declaring him and his successors to be Defender of the Faith, for evermore.

The king now received the bull, and read it; after which it was openly read, and published in the court, and then Henry proceeded to the chapel in the highest courtly state, accompanied by all the nobles, and by the various ambassadors then at court. Wolsey, himself, sung the mass, being

attended in the prefatory ceremonies by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the Earl of Essex; who, not very much to their own liking, were obliged to wait upon the priestly upstart with the water for washing, the towel, &c. The mass ended, Wolsey "gave unto all them that heard the masse cleane remission, and blessed the king, and the queene, and all the people."

But events more important, in regard to the Cardinal's welfare, were now pressing forward; and it may be said, that the year 1522 was one of the proudest years in his life, inasmuch as he, in his correspondence with foreign princes, was now almost as familiar as in his personal intercourse with the sovereign. Accordingly, we find a most pressing, yet most friendly, letter to him, in March, from Anthony Grimani, Doge of Venice, soliciting his interference with the Spanish monarch respecting a Venetian ship detained in some port in Spain; and soon afterwards, when the same doge addressed a congratulatory epistle to Henry on his receiving the title of Defender of the Faith, he did not fail to add a most friendly recognition of the favourite. But, perhaps, the most extraordinary letter addressed to Wolsey, at this period, was one dated from Vittoria, in Spain, on the 2d of February, from Pope Adrian, then ignorant of his own election to the tiara, in which he actually signifies the rumour of Wolsey's elevation to the pope, and solicits the supposed new

pontiff to promote harmony between Henry and the emperor.

Charles, however, did not trust to epistolary negotiations alone, but determined on a visit to England to further his political purposes; and he accordingly landed at Dover, when the Cardinal, on the 20th of May, rode through the city, on his route to receive him, attended by a train of two earls, thirty-six knights, one hundred gentlemen, eight bishops, ten abbots, thirty chaplains, and seven hundred yeomen!

The emperor was received at court in all due state; and on the 8th of June, he and the king rode from Greenwich to St. Paul's, where Wolsey himself sung high mass: indeed, he may be said to have already touched the emperor "to some tune," for of the same day's date, we find a letter written to him by Charles, and dated "London," in which he engages to pay to the Cardinal 9000 crowns of pension, also 2500 ducats, until the like sum should be assigned out of the vacant churches in Spain, in lieu of the annuity from the bishopric of Badajoz, which Charles wished to dispense from the payment of it.

Wolsey seems indeed to have had considerable trouble, at or about this time, in procuring any payments from Spain; either from Palencia or Toledo: as there is a letter from him extant, but without date, addressed to Dr. Lee, the king's almoner, then with the emperor, in which he states

the appointment of Master John Almayn to be a receiver along with Lee, with a salary of 500 ducats, "which I suppose will make him ernest, diligent, and benevolent, in assisting you in levying the rest, with the averages of the same."

During all these political negotiations, Wolsey was attentive in paying every respect to Charles, both ecclesiastical and royal. This he carried to an unprecedented extent of splendour, so that it is not surprising that the state assumed by the Cardinal should have given great offence to Englishmen; when even the Spaniards, who accompanied the emperor on his visit, were disgusted with it, especially on one occasion, we believe, when he performed mass before the emperor and the king at St. Paul's. We are informed that he there had his "travers and cupborde," and before the mass two barons gave him water, and after the gospel two earls did the same; whilst at the last lavatory, the degrading office was performed by two dukes.

These feelings of displeasure, in the minds of the people, were much heightened by the heavy burthens that were laid upon them under the name of loans, particularly when the king sent into the city to borrow £ 20,000. This was very grating to the citizens, but the loan was promised nevertheless; the lord mayor sending only for the most substantial to make up the sum: which, however, was not done until several of the companies actually parted with their plate. The sum being

paid into the lord treasurer's hands, the king sent his letter promising payment; and so did the Cardinal; and the poor were contented, since the rich were forced to lend.

We must, however, do the Cardinal the justice of saying, that whenever the honour or interest of the country were at stake, and not in opposition to his own private views, he behaved with a degree of spirit highly honourable to him. This was particularly exemplified in the course of the present year, when the merchants complained loudly of their sufferings from the piratical proceedings both of France and Germany, though England preserved all the neutrality of one that wished to be a mediator. The affair having been taken into deep consideration by the king and council, the French ambassador was sent for, whom Wolsey thus addressed:—"Sir! how is this chance happened? You have promised ever, in the name of the king your master, that all leagues, promises, and covenants should be kept, and that full restitution should be made of every hurt and damage, and that firm peace and amity should be kept; but, contrary to your saying, our merchants be robbed and spoiled, yea, although he hath granted his safe conduct; yet they be robbed, and stayed at Bourdeaux! Is this the peace that you and your master have promised to be kept? Is this the amity that he was sworn to keep? Is this the word of a king? Is this the strength of a prince

to break his safe conduct? And where you advised our merchants to sue in France for restitution, and did warrant them to be restored, you have put them to cost and loss, for they have sued there long and spent their goods, without any redress; and now you have imprisoned them, and kept both them and their goods! Is this justice? Is this restitution? And all this was your procurement, and now see what is come of your promise! Surely this may not be suffered; and besides this, the king is informed that the king your master hath spoken by him foul and opprobrious words; yea in the hearing of the Englishmen, which were sore grieved to hear such words, and were not able to be revenged."

To this the French ambassador answering that it was not so as it was reported, Wolsey instantly took him up, exclaiming,—"Well! if you note the council of England so light as to tell fables, you may be misadvised. But I pray you," added he more coolly, "how oftentimes hath the king written to your master, for restitution of such robberies as have been done, and yet can have no redress? Wherefore he granted letters of marque, which may stand with the league; but M. Chatillon hath taken merchants of England prisoners, and hath sent certain here for their ransom! That is open war; and no peace."

The French ambassador stuck to his old text of denial, and now added attempts at recrimination,

endeavouring to make out a worse case against the English in regard to France; but Wolsey was not thus to be led from his purpose: accordingly he sent for the four hostages that were still here for the payment of the sums due on account of Tournay, and delivered each of them to a nobleman or knight for safe keeping; commanding the ambassador also to keep his house, in silence, and not again to come into the royal presence, until he was sent for.

This was considered by the ambassador and the hostages as a great and unprovoked insult; but Wolsey went on without ceremony, giving strict commandment to the lord mayor to attach all the Frenchmen in the city, body and goods, and to keep them in prison, until he should hear further of the king's pleasure. So strictly was this order put in force, that in a short time all the prisons, in and about the metropolis, were filled with Frenchmen; but many escaped by speaking Dutch, and saying that they were Flemings, not Frenchmen!

Indeed, Wolsey, like a true-born Englishman, notwithstanding his political coquetry with the King of France for his own private interests, seems to have felt an intuitive jealousy of French ambition, and a kind of personal dislike also for that people; in conformity with which, even during the recent negotiations at Calais, he actually wrote a book, and by the king's express desire, on the

reasons and operations of war against France, and pointing out the method of supporting it with vigour and effect: and even before war had commenced he was particularly active in sending supplies and subsidies for the support of the emperor's large armies both in the Netherlands and in Italy, where great things were hoped for, from the expected co-operation of the Duke of Bourbon, then at variance with Francis, on account of the office of Constable of France being taken from him, to be conferred upon the Duke D' Alençon, brother to that monarch.

But we need not enter deeply into these extraneous matters; it is sufficient to record that the war broke out again in 1522, between France and England; the first operations opening on the coast of France, with an attack upon Morlaix by the lord high admiral, followed up by skirmishes in the vicinity of Calais, in all of which the English arms were successful. At that period there were no gazettes, so that the first public notification of these successes was on the 6th of July, when Wolsey, in the star chamber, announced them to the lords and others assembled. He further declared that Henry would never have entered upon hostilities had the French monarch kept his oath and promise; mentioning also other causes, such as the invasion of the imperial dominions by France, contrary to treaty; the neglect and contempt shown by the French to the last year's embassy;

the withholding of the king's duties and his sister's dower; with several other charges of a minor nature.

Measures of internal security were immediately taken, under Wolsey's directions, by the imprisonment of all Frenchmen and Scots, whose goods were also seized; but where any of these had married Englishwomen, half the goods were restored for the use of the wives and children: as for such as had been made denizens by naturalization, even they were obliged to find good and sufficient bond for their quiet behaviour.

Six weeks after the announcement of hostilities, Wolsey sent for the mayor and aldermen, and informed them that the king had appointed commissioners throughout the kingdom to swear every man to the value of his property, the more to be in readiness for the defence of the realm, and that he, the Cardinal, was appointed commissioner for the city; an office which his majesty, himself, would have undertaken, had he not been prevented by other affairs of state,—" wherefore, in convenient time," added Wolsey, " certify me the number of all such as be worth one hundred pounds and upwards, to the intent I may swear them of their values; for first, the king asketh of you, your loving hearts and due obeysance, the which shall appear by your conformity to his requests; and when the value is taken, he desireth only the tenth part of goods and lands, which is the least reason-

able thing that you can aid your prince with. I think every of you will offer no less; as for the spiritualty, every man is in the shires sworn, and shall and will gladly pay the fourth part to the king, and live on the three parts. Now to your part I am sure you will not grudge, therefore, name me the men of substance; and for the meaner sort, meaner commissioners shall be appointed."

The first reply to this speech was from a merchant, who said,—"Sir, if it may please you, how shall this tenth part to the king be delivered?"

"In money, plate, or jewels," replied Wolsey, "at a value."

"Oh! my Lord," exclaimed one of the aldermen, "it is not yet two months since the king had of the city £20,000 in ready money, in loan, whereby the city is very bare of money; for God's sake remember this, that rich merchants in war be bare of money."

To this remonstrance the only reply of the Cardinal was—"Well! this must be done; and therefore go about it."

Thus ended the conference, and the aldermen, each in their respective wards, drew up lists agreeable to the Cardinal's directions; and the persons therein named waited upon him, beseeching him most humbly that they might not be sworn for the true value of their substance, as the true valuation was unknown to them; besides many honest men's credit was much greater than their

substance, and therefore they were in doubt how far they might, unwittingly, incur the peril of perjury.

Wolsey was prepared even for this, and immediately replied,—"Well, syth you dread the crime of perjury, it is a sign of grace, and therefore I will for you borrow of the king a little. Make you your bills of your own value, likely to report your fame, and then more business needeth not; for you see what two costly armies the king hath ready against both France and Scotland; therefore now show yourselves like loving subjects, for you be able enough: and I dare swear the substance of London is no less worth than two millions of gold."

At this the merchants started, as if with astonishment, exclaiming,—"We would to God that it were so; and the city is sore appaired by the great occupying of strangers."

"Well," replied Wolsey, "it shall be redressed, if I live; but on Saturday next I shall appoint one to receive your bills; and he that is of credence, more than of substance, let him resort to me, as I will be secret and good to him."

We are informed by Hall, that these honest citizens now departed in great tribulation, and that great was the mourning of the common people, as it ever is in such cases of payments; but in the end, one Doctor Tonnys, a secretary to the Cardinal, came to the Chapter House in St. Paul's

Church-yard, to whom the citizens brought in their statements, "and on their honestie they were received, which values afterwarde turned them to displeasure."

It was not until the 6th of November that Wolsey received the papal bull "in commenda" for the monastery of St. Alban's; and a few days afterwards arrived a letter from the emperor, in which he calls Henry his father, as if with a reference to the renewal of the treaty of marriage with the infant princess,—"the said king, our good father and uncle, the queen, my aunt and mother, and of my best beloved cousin and companion, the princess, their daughter *."

These new sources of wealth, so intimately connected with the existence of the papal power in England, would naturally pre-dispose Wolsey against the Reformation, which, indeed, hitherto had not made such progress as might have been expected. The king also was, as yet, too proud of his new title of Defender of the Faith, to countenance any professed friends of the Reformation; yet the people were beginning to open their eyes to the evils resulting from the popish forms and practices, particularly in regard to female virtue and the social tie, the libertinism of the clergy being now insufferable.

Nor were the people conciliated by the argu-

* Rymer, Fœd. xiii. 776.

ments used, especially by those of Cardinal Campeius, to justify the celibacy of the clergy, when it was urged that married priests had a greater sin to answer for than those who kept many concubines; as the latter, it was said, might probably be persuaded that concubinage was lawful, whilst the former must be conscious that they sinned against their known duty. The one party he therefore permitted to continue in full indulgence; whilst the magistrate was called on to assist the bishops in censures against the married clergy.

This was a mode of reasoning not at all adapted to the understandings of Englishmen. They saw an evil, and they determined to remove it; not choosing to temporize, as was done on the Continent, especially in Switzerland, where, as we are told by Zuinglius the famous Swiss Reformer, there was a custom in some of the cantons, that when a new curate was received amongst them, they enjoined him to keep a concubine, lest he should attempt the chastity of their wives!

The friends of reformation were therefore well pleased when they saw the Cardinal, under the express royal approbation, fairly, though unconsciously, commence the great work by the dissolution of the monasteries, then noted for the vice and depravity within their walls.

It is true that the groundwork on which the first instances were founded, was the intended purpose of establishing schools and colleges with their

wealth; but the judicious foresaw that such a work, once begun, would always find reasons for its continuance, and they expected, with good reason, that the cupidity both of Wolsey and the king, already manifested in various attempts upon the wealth of the secular clergy, could not fail to become more insatiate by gratification.

That many curious discoveries were made, on the final dissolution of the monasteries, cannot be doubted, though perhaps by no means to the extent of the charges brought against the monks, now doomed to plunder and destruction. Two specimens of these accusations we shall give *;—the first is in a report from John Hales, sent to Secretary Cromwell, whilst on a visitation to Soulbie—

"According to your pleasure and commandment, the papistical denn of idle and utterly unlearned beasts at Soulbie is broken up and dispersed, and your servant is in possession."—

The other is from Dr. Richard Layton, and dated from Maidstone—

"At Lewis I found corruption of both the kinds——et quod pejus est, traturus. The Superior hath confessed to me treason in his preaching.

"At Battel, I found the abbot and all his convent, saveing one or two, great dayly * * * * and traiturs. The Abbot of Battel is the varaste hayve betle and buserde, and the arrants chorle

* Brit. Mus. Ays. Cat. No. 4160. Art. 13.

that ever I see in all other places where as I come, especially the black sort of devillish monks. Surely I think they be past amendment, and that God hath utterly withdrawn his grace from them."—

It must be allowed, however, that, with all their vices, the religious of that day possessed one virtue at least,—that of hospitality. At priests' houses, and in monasteries, the table-cloth was on the board all day long, for strangers, travellers, friars, and pilgrims. Then there were charitable doles at all religious houses, and in every parish; and in each parish (poors' rates not then established) there was a church house, to which were attached spits, pots, crooks, &c. for dressing provisions. There the housekeepers often met on seasons of jollity, like modern church-wardens' feasts; and there were all their charitable plans and purposes matured and put in efficiency. In every church also there was a poor man's box; and the same at all inns; but there were few, or rather no almshouses before this reign. The most ancient almshouse in existence is opposite to Christ Church, Oxford.

There was even some liberality amongst the priesthood in religious matters; particularly with respect to prayers for the dead: and in the "Festival"* printed in 1509, the priests are expressly directed to pray for all souls, "especially for those that had most need and least help!"

* Ant. Rep. I. p. 178.

But prayers for the dead, as a knowledge of real Christianity spread itself by means of the Bible, were soon laughed at; and more especially was the public contempt directed against the pardons and indulgences then bestowed with liberal promise.

How, indeed, was it possible, even for the unenlightened, yet deep-thinking yeomanry to preserve their gravity, when they might read upon a brass plate, fixed upon a stone in the chapel of Macclesfield—"The pardonne for sayinge of v pater-nosters and v aves and a credo, is xxvi thousand yeres and xxv dayes of pardonne,"—or again in Salisbury cathedral, where was fixed up a long list of pardons for deadly and for venial sins, and that he who should devoutly behold the arms of Jesus Christ was to have six thousand years of pardon from St. Peter, and the thirty popes who followed him; whilst to him who should say certain prayers, there would be given three thousand years of pardon for deadly, and the same for venial sins!

The Cardinal, however, seems not to have held any doubts as to the stability of the existing system, but went on in the usual tenor of his way, watchful for his own interests, and for those of his friends. In particular, he placed in the London episcopal chair, then vacant by the demise of Dr. Fitzjames, his friend and protegeé, Dr. Tunstall, the keeper of the privy seal, but a man by no

means popular, even then. He had one advantage, however, in Wolsey's estimation, that of being a strict Catholic; and we must allow him the merit of sincerity, for he lost his see in Edward's reign, was reinstated by Mary, but ejected by Elizabeth.

Whilst this promotion was rankling in men's minds, Wolsey increased it much by issuing a general commission through the realm for musters. On this occasion, people were sworn to their property, their substance, and their lands, and the reports regularly sent to the Cardinal: but the measure was most unpopular, and excited considerable ferment, the fears and jealousies of the people being awakened by the expectation of fresh and heavy demands upon their purses. Wolsey, nevertheless, proceeded coolly in his despotic measures, but still tempered them with the love he manifested for learning. In particular we may observe, that however true may have been the charges of selfish views against him, in many instances, it is clear that his conduct towards the university of Oxford was of the most disinterested nature, as was most particularly manifested this year, on occasion of various internal differences respecting official regulations. The peculiar point in debate was in regard to the election of proctors; and on this subject the masters at once referred the matter to the cardinal, without any previous communication to their chancellor: but Wolsey carefully avoided any thing like undue interference,

and, in a spirit of conciliation, allowing at the same time, to party feelings, an opportunity of cooling, he recommended a middle course,—that of deferring the absolute choice of proctors until the ensuing Michaelmas, and of appointing, pro tempore, two sufficient persons, quiet, and not of turbulent aspiring tempers, to fulfil the duties of the office, though not under the title of proctors, but simply that of masters of the schools.

He further hinted that at the expiration of the term already mentioned, he hoped he should be more at leisure to attend to the affairs of the university, and to see all things settled upon so good a foundation, that the state of it would be continually more splendid and flourishing. With this judicious advice the university complied; and in their answer, they state another proof of his favour in having procured for them an exemption from the general tax, levied towards the support of the war against France.

It seems that they had previously applied to Wolsey for his intercession in their favour, upon the plea that colleges and their immediate dependencies had always been exempted from the charge of contributing to the public wars; and this had been urged by Wolsey to the king with so much force, as a matter of academical right, that the desired immunity was granted.

This immunity, however, was rather for that especial occasion, than granted as a perpetual

right; and the university now called on the Cardinal to have it more generally established: but this he waived for the present, assuring them that he could not make any final determination in the matter until it had been laid before the council, and which he hoped he should do in such a manner as to convince them of the zeal which he felt, and with which he would act for their advantage.

To these hopes of future favour, he added some good advice; recommending to them to preserve a good spirit, and to apply themselves to the study of learning, and to the practice of holy discipline; admonishing them also to be particularly careful that they should not, from any motives of vain glory, or in the gratification of any private quarrels or animosities, permit themselves to be led away from the great duty of perfecting themselves in true and useful erudition.

Steady in his views upon the popedom, Wolsey now warmly supported the breach with France, and the affording of all possible aid to the emperor; but there was a rising spirit of independence in the House of Commons which rendered it more difficult for him to raise the sums necessary for his ambitious purposes. Even this was, in some measure, owing to himself; for he appears to have been very active and instrumental in Sir Thomas More's being chosen Speaker of the House of Commons in the parliament of 1522, being the first summoned after his elevation to the chancel-

lorship. When More disabled himself, as it was called, representing that he was totally unqualified for that high office, neither the king nor the Cardinal would hear of his declining it; the latter telling him that the king had sufficient proof of him every way sufficiently, and that the commons could not choose a meeter man.

The Cardinal's influence, in this very parliament, was soon ascertained to be not so weighty as he had imagined, owing, perhaps, in a great measure to the publicity which appears now first to have taken place in regard to the debates of the House, and thus tending to form public opinion.

This publicity, in fact, became now so notorious, that Wolsey even dared to complain that he was aggrieved, and that there was nothing either said or done but what was blazed abroad in all circles, nay in every ale-house. But something must be done; for a very large subsidy was now wanted; and so doubtful was the minister of the question being carried, that he actually determined to be present at the debate himself, though a member of the upper house. This intention was no sooner known to the commons, than it became a matter of very serious debate, whether he should only be admitted with a few of the lords, or with his whole train; when the speaker put an end to the debate by observing, that since the Cardinal had already accused them of the lightness of their tongues, for things spoken and disclosed out of doors, he

thought the best mode would be to receive their visitor in all his pomp, with all his maces, his pillars, his poleaxes, his crosses, his cardinal's hat, and the great seal also: so that if, at a future day, he should complain that the debate on the subsidy had been promulgated, then they might, with a better grace, lay the blame upon his own followers, as the reporters to the people.

This plan was instantly adopted; and Wolsey actually went to the house in all this ecclesiastical and political state—nay, he made a speech on, or rather an oration to the house in favour of the proposed subsidy, for the purpose of proving its necessity, and of showing that less would not suffice than the sum demanded. When he had finished, there was a dead silence in the house, at which he appeared astonished; and, after a pause, he observed that there were many wise and learned men among them, and seeing that he was sent thither by the king himself, for the preservation of the members themselves, and of the whole realm, he thought he had occasion to expect a reasonable answer.

Still all were silent, when Wolsey addressed himself individually to one of the members, Mr. Marney; but he was *dumb*, as were many others, to each of whom severally the Cardinal addressed himself, it having been previously agreed that no debate should take place, and that the speaker alone should answer him. But even Sir Thomas

did not yet break the silence, until Wolsey again spoke to the house, saying, "Masters, unless it be the manner of your house, as of likelihood it is, by the mouth of your speaker, whom you have chosen for trusty and wise, as indeed he is, in such cases to utter your minds, here is, without doubt, a marvellous obdurate silence." He then turned fiercely to the speaker, and demanded an answer; when More, dropping on his knees, pretended to excuse the silence of the Commons, on the plea that they were abashed at the presence of so noble a personage, who was able to amaze the wisest and the best learned men in the realm: he then urged several reasons why no member had spoken, as such would neither have been expedient, nor agreeable to the ancient liberty of that house; and as for himself, although the members had unanimously chosen him, and trusted him with their privileges, still, unless every individual member would put into his (More's), head all their several wits, he alone was unmeet in so weighty a matter to give an answer to his grace.

Wolsey was so displeased with this speech, and with his general reception, that he instantly rose and left the house; and the very next day he sent for the Speaker, to attend upon him in his gallery at Whitehall, saying to him on his arrival, "Would to God you had been at Rome, Master More, when I made you speaker!" To which More replied, "Your grace not offended, so would I, my

lord; for then should I have seen those holy places, which I have often and much desired!"

This answer appeared to foil the Cardinal in his preconcerted plan, and they took several turns in the gallery without a word being uttered, when More, anxious to check or avert the storm which was gathering, began to talk of the gallery, and said that he liked it much better than the one at Hampton Court; and this he said with such apparent unconcern, that Wolsey was completely at fault, and left him without another word.

The king and Wolsey, thus checked in parliament, now began to cut very deep into the incomes of the clergy; for which purpose they adopted the plan of having a convocation called by the royal writ to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and which was directed to be held at St. Paul's on the 20th of April. The ostensible business, as stated for this convocation, was to reform some abuses in the church; but the members soon discovered that the real purpose was of a very different nature, when the Cardinal, by virtue of his power as legate a latere, summoned them to repair to Westminster, and there told them that half of the full value of their livings for one year was expected for the service of his majesty; but allowing them, at the same time, to pay it by instalments in the course of five years.

This most extraordinary and unexampled demand the Cardinal attempted to justify, by a la-

boured representation of the king's particular love and regard for the church, and the especial services he had done towards it, far beyond any of his predecessors, wherefore they ought to feel it their duty to show themselves sensible of their happiness by their gratitude, and pay their acknowledgments by actions, and not by words only. But this reasoning did not take so readily as he expected, being opposed both by his old friend and patron, Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and by Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who objected to it on the plea that the clergy could not live under the fulfilment of such a demand; that it was uncustomary; and that it would be drawn into a precedent in after times, so as to render the burdens on the church most intolerable. To this, however, Wolsey would not lend an ear; but wishing to have an example for the parliament in the conduct of the church, he urged the subject still more strenuously, on the plea that should the clergy be sparing in assisting his majesty, at this particular juncture, it might have the effect of an evil example to the laity; and, at least, would show that the clergy were very ungrateful for the many favours which Henry had bestowed upon the church.

These arguments, with perhaps other prudential reasons, were effectual, and the subsidy was agreed to; the preamble to the grant specifying his majesty's good offices in quelling the unhappy schism

in the church during the pontificate of Julius II., and his confutation of "Luther's heresy, which furiously raged against the church and the state thereof, in a most learned and never sufficiently to be praised treatise."

In these regulations it was understood that all foreigners holding benefices in England were to pay a double tax; that is, one year in five: but to this there were seven exceptions, two of which were in favour of a friend and an enemy, thus manifesting Wolsey's impartiality. The friend was Erasmus; and the enemy was Polidor Virgil, who had been for several years the collector of the papal dues in England.

This was followed by a convocation of the see of York, whereat similar measures were agreed to.

Elated by his success with the clergy, Wolsey met the parliament of 1523 with large demands for money; and on the 29th of April, he actually entered the House of Commons, accompanied by a number both of temporal and spiritual peers, when he made a long oration in favour of the war, closing with a demand for £800,000, to be raised by a fifth of every man's goods and lands, or 4*s.* in the pound, throughout the kingdom.

The opposition of that day attempted to show that there was not money enough in the country to pay such a subsidy; and they asked, "If all the coyne wer in the kynge's handes, how should men live?"—but Wolsey went again to the House

of Commons, in order to overrule all these objections. He first desired to be reasoned with; but he was told that the fashion of the lower house was to hear, and not reason but among themselves: and he then began to prove that England was extremely rich; first, because the king's customs were then greater than ever they had been before; then he spoke of the sumptuous buildings, of the plate, of rich apparel, of men, women, children, and even servants; of fat feasts and delicate dishes; which things were all tokens of great abundance;—" with whiche repetyng of mennes substance, as though he had repined or disdained that any man should fare well, or be well clothed, but hymself, the Commons greatly grudged: and when he was departed out of the house, it was proved that honest apparrel of the commodities of this realme, aboundance of plate and honest viandes, were profitable to the realme, and not prodigall;"—but, after all, a subsidy was granted.

These occurrences produced much discontent amongst the people, and even the press, in that early day, appears to have been enlisted in the cause of opposition to the favourite; particularly on occasion of his exercising his legantine powers to the extent of dissolving Archbishop Warham's convocation at St. Paul's, and forcing him and all the clergy of his diocese to attend the Cardinal's own convocation at Westminster. This we have already described as a thing unheard of before in

England, and Skelton the poet, the poet laureate some call him, wrote on it the following rude distich:

> "Gentle Paule, laie doune thy sweard,
> For Peter of Westminster hath shaven thy beard."

But Wolsey, supported by the favours of the king and pope, seemed to fear nothing either from popular opinion, or from aristocratic jealousy. Every day, indeed, appears to have been fruitful in new favours, some of them particularly illegal; as was most especially the case in regard to the abbacy of St. Alban's, recently granted to him; and which was now ascertained to be a breach of canon law. This invasion of the rights of abbeys, for any person to hold them in commendam, was by many considered as portending some fatal blow to the clergy at large; and it is a curious fact, that Wolsey never went down, even that short distance, personally to take possession; nor is there, as Newenham * observes, a tittle of record to show what was done during his commendam.

He chose not, however, to give up the lucrative proceeds of such a valuable trust; and he even went the length of procuring a bull from the pope, dated 7th of April, 1523, declaring that he should not vacate the see of York, nor give up St. Alban's, accompanied by another of the same date,

* Newenham's History of St. Alban's.

confirming to him the bishopric of Durham, which he had held for a short time previous; there was also a recommendation to the king, that he should receive a restitution of the temporalities of the Durham see.

All these favours were followed by a bull from Pope Adrian, granting to him a prolongation of his legantine powers—"ad quinquennium," or for the space of five years; soon after which he received a grant * from the king of the custody of the young Earl of Derby's lands in the isle of Axholme, in Lincolnshire.

When Wolsey received the bishopric of Durham, he resigned, as we have recorded, that of Bath to Dr. John Clarke, Master of the Rolls, one of his favourites; and he soon after appointed Sir Henry Marney, his own vice chamberlain, to be lord privy seal, procuring for him the title of Lord Marney. In short, his pride, and the wantonness of his power, were now increasing rapidly; and it is recorded of him, in this year, by a cotemporary writer, that "aboute this season, the Cardinall of York, beyng legate, proved testamentes, and dyd call before hym all the executors and administrators of every diocess within the realm; so that the bishoppes and ordinaries did prove no great willes in their dioces, except he were compounded with, not to their litle disadvantage. Also,

* Rymer, Fœd. xiii. 795. 789.

by his power legantine, he gave by provencions all benefices belongyng to spirituall persones, by the whiche doyng, he not only had the hatred of the spiritualtie, but also he ran into the daunger of the premunire, which he sore after repented."

This is stated to have been the case in 1523; but it is evident that it had, for some time previous, been a subject of great complaint, both to the clergy and laity: we must not, however, yield too much to the public clamour of that day, when we see, at every step, how faithfully and patriotically he maintained the character of the country.

England seems at all times to have been the refuge of the distressed monarchs of Europe; in this year (1523), particularly by the arrival of the King of Denmark, together with his queen, sister to the emperor, and their children, he having been forced to fly from his throne in consequence of rebellious proceedings on the part of his uncle, the Duke of Holstein, aided by many of the Danish nobility, who accused him of a breach of convention agreed upon by all parties at their electing him to the crown on the demise of his father, the deceased monarch.

The expatriated sovereign first claimed English protection at Calais, and then passed over to England, where he was received in the most sumptuous manner, by the king's order and under Wolsey's auspices: but the Cardinal did not seem very anxious for him to remain; indeed the advice he

gave him was very judicious, pointing out the propriety of his personal exertions, and recommending that he should proceed to such part of his states as still retained their affection and obedience towards him, of which he had several, and there to endeavour, by the help of his loving subjects, to regain what he had lost. At the same time, Wolsey promised that Henry and the emperor, instead of giving him immediate assistance, as he had requested, would send their ambassadors in order to try what could be done by mediation. But, if this should fail, he then engaged to reinstate him in his dominions by force of arms, with the assistance of the pope and of the German princes.

With these promises the Danish monarch was, or appeared to be, contented; and returned to the Continent about the middle of July.

An anecdote is told of the King of Denmark, during this visit, that speaks more in favour of the city train bands of that day than would readily have been granted to them at a later date, before they were superseded by the militia. It seems that after some stay at the court at Greenwich, he came to the metropolis, where he was lodged at Bath Place; and having heard of the "watche" on St. Peter's eve, he desired to see it. In this he was gratified, being taken to a tavern called the King's head, in Cheapside, accompanied by a long train of nobility, and there feasted by the city with

a costly banquet. As soon as he had seen the "watche," he exclaimed—"I would to God I had so many archers, pikes, and halberdiers, as I saw this night; then I trust I would punish such as have wrongfully dispossessed me of my realm and country!"

The death of Pope Adrian in the month of September, in this year, offered new and flattering prospects to Wolsey, of grasping at the triple mitre; but his views on this subject will be best understood by his own letter to Henry upon the occasion, and in writing which he seems to have lost no time, for he thus begins *—

"Sir, it may like your highness to understand I have this hour received letters from your orator, resident in the court of Rome, mentioning how, the 13th day of this instant, it pleased Almighty God to call the pope's holiness to his mercy, whose soul our Lord pardon; and in what train the matters then were at that time, for election of the future pope, your highness shall perceive by the letters of the said orator, which I send at this time, whereby appeareth, that mine absence from thence shall be the only obstacle (if any be) in election of me to that dignity. Albeit, there is no semblance, that the college of cardinals shall consent upon my being there present, because of the factions that be amongst themselves; for which cause, though afore God I repute myself right unmeet and unliable to so high and great dignity, desiring much

* The original is in the Duke of Grafton's library.

rather to devote, continue, and end my life with your Grace, for doing of such poor service as may be to your honour, and wealth of this your realm, than to be pope; yet nevertheless, remembering what mind and opinion your Grace was of at the last vacation, to have me preferred thereunto, thinking it should be to the honour, benefit, and advancement of your affairs in time coming, and supposing vainly that your highness persisteth in the same mind and intent, I shall devise such instructions and commissions, and other writings, as the last time were delivered to Master Pace for that purpose; and the same I shall send to your Grace by the next post, whom it may like to do further therein as shall stand with your gracious pleasure, whereunto I shall always conform myself accordingly. And to the intent it may appear further to your Grace, what mind and determination they be of towards mine advancement, which, as your orators write, have now at this time the principal authority, and chief stroke in the election of the pope, making in manner *triumviratum;* I send unto your highness their several letters to me, addressed in that behalf, beseeching our Lord, that such one may be chosen as may be to the honour of God, the weal of Christ's church, and the benefit of all Christendom; and thus Jesus preserve your most noble and royal estate.

"At the More, the last day of September, by your

"Most humble chaplain,

"T. CARDINALIS, EBOR."

To this epistle Henry speedily returned a very gracious answer, encouraging him to persevere in the object of his ambition; after which Wolsey wrote to the king's ministers at Rome, expressly telling them, that the mind and entire desire of the king, above all earthly things, was that he should succeed to the tiara, "having his perfect and firm hope that of the same shall ensue, in brief time, a general and universal repose, tranquillity, and quietness, in Christendom, and as great renown, honour, profit, and reputation to this realm, as ever was."

For this and other assigned reasons, he directed that the envoys should continue their practices, overtures, motions, and labours, "to bring and conduce this, the king's desire, to perfect end and effect."

What these "practices," &c. were intended to be may be readily inferred from a private communication to the principal of the embassy, the Bishop of Bath:—

"My Lord of Bath,

"The king hath willed me to write unto you, that his Grace hath a marvellous opinion of you, and you knowing his mind as you do, his highness doubteth not but that this matter shall be, by your policy, set forth in such wise, as that the same may come to the desired effect, not sparing any reasonable offers, which is a thing that, amongst so many needy persons, is more regarded

than perhaps the qualities of the person. Ye be wise, and ye wot what I mean; trust yourself best, and be not seduced by fair words, and especially of those which (say what they will) desire more their own preferment than mine. Howbeit, great dexterity is to be used, and the king thinketh that all the imperials shall be clearly with you, if faith be in the emperor. The young men, for the most part being needy, will give good ears to fair offers, which shall be undoubtedly performed. The king willeth you neither to spare his authority, or his good money or substance. You may be assured whatever you promise shall be performed, and the Lord send you good speed.

"Your loving friend,

"T. Card. Eborac."

So anxious was Wolsey for the emperor's assistance, and so much did he depend upon it, that the very next day he wrote to Henry again, soliciting the king that he would write a letter to Charles under his own hand, to engage his interest and influence: at the same time it was known to be his wish that, if unsuccessful himself, then the election might fall on Julio de Medicis. In this latter part he was gratified, Julio being chosen, and assuming the name of Clement VII.; but not until after several ballots and scrutinies, on three of which scrutinies Wolsey had nine, twelve, and finally nineteen votes in his favour.

Conformable to his apparent moderation in

support of Julio de Medici, his successful rival, and notwithstanding his own intrigues for the triple mitre, yet no sooner did he hear of the election of Clement VII. than he wrote a most hypocritical despatch to the Bishop of Bath*, still resident ambassador at Rome, in which he speaks of the Cardinals being in conclave, where after long altercations and sundry contrarieties, which seemed to be among the said Cardinals, at last, by the grace and inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they agreed, and condescended upon the Lord Cardinal de Medicis, whom they elected, chose, and published pope: and then he goes on to say—"for the which, your substantial, good, and speedie advertisements, by mee alwayes showen and declared unto the kyng's highnes, his grace and I both give unto you especial and hartie thankes, namely, for the desyryd newes of the said election, which I assure you to be as much to the king's and my rejoyce, consolation, and gladnes, as possiblie may be devised or imagined; for which cause his highnes and I in signe, token, and contemplation of the singular comfort which wee take in the same, not abydynge or tarryinge for any intimation to be made therof, either by the pope's holiness now elect, or by the college of cardinals, thought convenient and requisite, with diligence to speede unto you letters congratulatorie directed unto the pope's holiness," &c.

* Brit. Mus. Ays. Col. No. 3839, art. 4.

Wolsey's feelings on this disappointment must have been very acute; yet he had philosophy enough to conceal them, even from his friends, judging, as we may do, from his announcement to the king of the failure of his plans:

"Sire,—After my most humble and lowly recommendation, this shall only be to advertise your highness, that after great and strong altercation and contrariety, which have depended between the cardinals in the conclave, they at last resolved fully and determined (the faction of France abandoned) to elect and choose either my Lord Cardinal de Medicis or me, which deliberation coming to the knowledge of the nobles and citizens of Rome, they alleging that the affairs of Italy being in train, as they then were, it should be to the extreme danger thereof to choose a person absent; made sundry great acclamations at the conclave window; whereby the cardinals being in fear, not only of the inconvenience like to ensue unto Italy, but also of their own persons, albeit they were in manner principally bent upon me, yet, for eschewing the said danger and murmur, *by inspiration of the Holy Ghost*, without further difficulty of business, the 19th day of the last month, elected and chose the said Cardinal de Medicis, who immediately was published pope, and hath taken the name of Clement VII. of which good and fortunate news, such your highness hath much cause to thank Almighty God for, forasmuch as he is

not only a perfect friend, and faithful to the same; but that also, much the rather by your means, he hath attained to this: and for my part, as I take God to record, I am more joyous thereof, than if it had fortuned upon my person, knowing his excellent qualities most mete for the same, and how great and sure a friend your grace and the emperor be like to have of him, and I so good a father; by whose assumption unto that dignity, not only your and the said emperor's affairs, but also all Christendom, shall undoubtedly come to much better and more prosperous perfection; like as upon the first knowledge thereof the Frenchman be already departed from Myllayn, and passed a river towards France called Tycino, trusting that the next news which shall come from thence shall be of their arrival at home; wherein, as I shall have further knowledge, so I shall advertise your highness thereof accordingly. And thus Jesu preserve your most noble and royal estate.

"At my poor house besides Westminster, the 7th day of December.

"By your most humble chaplain,

"T. Card. Ebor."

Some have considered this letter as a most superb specimen of hypocrisy; but making fair allowances, there must be some truth, at least, in it: for it cannot be doubted, that Wolsey, his own election having failed, must have been better pleased to see the tiara conferred upon de Medicis

than upon Colonna, the other candidate, who was not likely to have been either so friendly or so favourable to the English cause in general, or to Wolsey's own views in particular; besides, the state of the pope was not at that period very agreeable, owing to the powerful factions in Italy, as well as the hostility of France. It has been suggested also that his eagerness for the title of "His Holiness" may have abated, in consequence of the cool reflection that he could not thereby mend his station, live in greater splendour, or be more useful to, or courted by, all the princes in Europe, though he might add to his title of *Eminence*, and *Grace*, the latter of which was, in fact, a royal address, that of majesty having yet scarcely been introduced into common use.

Soon after the election of Clement VII., that pontiff wrote to Wolsey, notifying his advancement to the pontificate, and renewing his appointment as legate a latere; so that the Cardinal's rank and power remained in England, the same as before his disappointment. Some delay or misunderstanding was, however, connected with this, as appears from a subsequent letter to Secretary Pace at Rome, when he says, "Albeit I am right well assured that ye have, to the uttermost and best of your power, endeavoured and employed yourself to the obtaining of the bull of legation, now granted unto me by the Pope's Holiness; yet nevertherless, to be plain with you, as one in whom I have my

singular trust and confidence, I esteem somewhat more strangeness to be showed unto me than my merit requires, in that there hath been difficulty made to amplify my faculties, per non familiare, and such other things as be contained in my instructions given to my lord of Bath, supposing verily ye, having familiar and perfect acquaintance with the Pope's Holiness, may, by your dexterity and wisdom, do so much to the remedying thereof, if as of yourself alone ye do sometimes repair unto his Holiness, putting the same by good means and introduction into remembrance of my merits, and faithful mind towards him, as well *in minoribus* as now, showing furthermore how, by Pope Leo's grant, and Pope Adrian's, who passed my legation with as large faculties as now I have *ad quinquennium*, and so from 5 years to 5 years during my life. I know right well how that, for the prerogatives the king's highness hath in this realm, as for other causes, all the profits that may arise of my legation, having also all the amplification of the faculties aforesaid, will not be worth 1000 ducats by the year, whatsoever report may be made to his Holiness to the contrary, by some that might suppose and think that great revenues might grow therefrom."

These, and the other politic instructions contained in this letter, were so effectual, that in a short time, one of the embassy, Mr. Hannibal, was enabled to write, that the King and Cardinal

were so much in favour with the pope, that whatever they should ask, his Holiness would readily grant; and Secretary Pace also wrote that the pope had taken a ring from off his own finger, and not only presented it to him, but even put it on his (Mr. Pace's) finger himself; at the same time expressing his high value both for his Majesty and the Cardinal; adding further, that it would be a singular pleasure to him, to have the opportunity of placing this valuable present on his Eminence's finger.

Soon after Wolsey was appointed perpetual legate, with enlarged commissions, for the visiting and reform of religious houses; and such was his authority, that he is said to have been revered as pope in England.

That Wolsey's want of success as to the popedom was owing to want of bribery is boldly asserted by Barnes, in his supplication to Henry VIII. when speaking of Pope Clement, he says that "furthermore, he that is a whore's son, as our Holy Father is now, and can fynde the meanes that xii men will forsware them selfe, that he is lawfully borne, as this holy Clement dyd. This is a fite father, for suche chyldren. Finally, he y^t can gyve most money, and bye the greatest parte of cardynalles of his syde, he is best worthy to be called pope, and to syt in Peter's stoole. For it can not be unknowen to you, howe that Thomas Woulcy, an holy pyller of your churche,

wolde have ben pope, when this Clement was chosen, and he dyd ofre for it a reasonable peny: But Clement dashed hym out of consayte with xx. M. li. (£20,000) more than he offered, and so he was judged best worthy, and entered in lawfully, and regularly."

Yet, leaving bribery out of the question, other fair reasons may have operated sensibly against him; but that he had, or was supposed by some to have, a fair chance of the tiara, is evident from a letter of Christopher Longolius, or Longueil, of Padua, addressed to Octavian Grimoald; in which he expressly says, that he understands Wolsey, whom he calls the chief prelate of England, is elected to the popedom: but then he adds, that if this be true, nothing more wonderful had ever happened either in present or past times. He objects that so far from his being a constant attendant on the conclave, and residing in Rome, he was, in fact, a new man, above all, an Englishman, one who had never been seen in Italy, and who was scarcely known, even by sight, by those who had thus elected him. He imagines that Wolsey's success was owing to the idea that the peace and tranquillity of the Christian republic depended upon him, from the part he had already acted in European politics; but he adds in a postscript, that he has just received letters that afford him very little hopes of any good resulting to the Church, from the supposed election.

Notwithstanding Wolsey's anxiety for the tiara, and what he may be supposed to have suffered from his disappointment, he was not backward, as before noticed, in sending to the English embassy at Rome, for the new pontiff, not only the king's gratulations, but also his own. It was still to him an object of importance to maintain the Imperial influence at the papal court, in opposition to that of France: and he therefore endeavoured strongly to impress upon the notice of the conclave the brilliant success of the English army then in France. Clement, however, still leaned to French politics, and shortly after, Wolsey seemed particularly desirous, not of carrying on the war, but of mediating a peace between France and the Emperor, in which he endeavoured to persuade the pope to join, even offering as terms, that the Duke of Milan should marry either the French king's daughter, or his queen's sister; and in failure of issue by such marriage, then Milan should descend to the French crown, but to be holden of the Emperor and his successors.

But this anxiety for peace did not last long in the Cardinal's mind, since we find by a letter of his to our ambassador in Spain*, that when the queen mother of France, in June 1524, sent a monk privately to him with overtures of pacification, he lost no time either in deliberation or ne-

* Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. No. 297. 29.

gotiation, but in half an hour sent him back with the answer that Henry demanded the whole realm and crown of France, with Normandy, Gascony, Guienne, and all dependencies, as his just and rightful inheritance, wrongfully detained from him by the French king, and the recovery of which he would not fail to prosecute to the utmost of his power.

Indeed, we can scarcely suppose that he was sincere in those pacific overtures, since the war had then scarcely commenced: the Duke of Suffolk having only been appointed in August to command the invading army, which soon after marched into the very heart of France; but was paralysed in its operations by the deficiencies of the Imperial army, both as to provisions and men. Some delay, however, took place in those warlike operations, in consequence of the sufferings of the English army, from a severe winter; perhaps in some measure also from a political jealousy, which at that moment mutually existed between Henry and the Emperor.

The earl having returned at the close of the campaign, completely recovered the good opinion of the king, and was soon after sent down to Scotland, which was then in great confusion, during the minority of James V., and the intrigues of the powerful nobles for the regency. In these the queen mother, Henry's sister, participated so much, that she even quarrelled with her second

husband, the Earl of Angus, and forced him to retire into England, from whence Wolsey had advised her to recal him as early as September; but when in November following she thought, herself, of coming to England, the Cardinal most strenuously opposed it, as appears by a letter to the Earl of Surrey*.

But, to return to matters nearer home, we may observe, that the extreme lust of ecclesiastical power which marked every period of Wolsey's life is in the course of the ensuing year particularly illustrated by a letter which he wrote to the Bishop of London, then on a temporary embassy at Rome, respecting the extension of his bull of perpetual legation by Clement. He there says† —"Albeit I am right well assured that you have to the uttermost and best of your power endeavoured and employed yourselfe to the obtayning of the bull of legation, now granted to mee by the Pope's holynes, yet nevertheless to be plaine with you, as in one in whome I have my singular trust and confidence, I esteem somewhat more strangnes to bee showed unto mee, than any * * * * require, in that there hath bin difficulties made to amplifie my faculties and non familiares, and such other things as bee conteyned in instrucions given to my lord of Bath. Supposing verilie y^t you havinge familiar and p^fect acquaintance with the Pope's

* Brit. Mus. Cott. col. B. ii. 5.

† Brit. Mus. Ays. col. No. 3839. p. 169.

Holiness may by your dexteritie and wisdome doe much to y^{e} recommending thereof, if as y$\tilde{r}$ selfe you alone sometyme doe repaire unto his Holines, putting y^{e} same by good manner and introduc$\tilde{c}$ion in remembrance of my merits and faithful mind towards him, as well in minoribus as now; showing furthermore how by Pope Leo's grant, and by Pope Adrian's, who passed my legation with as large faculties as I now have, ad quinque$\tilde{n}$, so from five years to five years promised by y^{r} special breves to p$\tilde{r}$ogue y^{e} same de quinquenio in quinqu$\tilde{e}$n during my life."—He then goes on to state —"I know right well how, as well for the p$\tilde{r}$ogatives of the King's Highnes hath in this realme, as for other causes, all the p$\tilde{f}$itts that maie arise of my legation, havinge also all y^{e} amplification of y^{e} faculties aforesaid, will not be worth 1000 ducats by year, w^{t} soever report may be made to his holynes to the contrarie by such as might suppose and think that great revenues might grow thereof. And you may saie, though you p$\tilde{c}$ceive y^{t} I repute and esteeme y^{r} benevolence as much and as highlie as the same is worthie to be taken, yet nevertheless, you know mee to bee one that can well note and consider y^{e} qualities of y^{e} said bull, and w^{t} emolument, honour, and benefit shall ensue unto mee thereby more than I had before by the grant of other popes, to whom I was not entirely dedicated as unto his holines.

"Wherefore you may say yo$\tilde{r}$ opinion is, as of

yourselfe in signe and completion of a speciall grace and more large favor towards me than to others gen̄allie, he should amplifie the said bull of legation, with the said other faculties, or rather with more, which then shall bee a very demonstration and manifest appearance y^t his holynes singularly tendereth and loveth mee, whereof I may take such rejoice and comfort, as praise maie bee hereafter to the contentac̄on of his holynes.

"And thus by good manners to use yourselfe in this matter, without knowledge that it p̄ceedeth from mee, by yo̅ politique handling not onely the said faculties may bee extended to my desire, but also the Pope's holynes to know there by w^t it is that hee hath done for mee, and what of likelyhood is my expectac̄on. In which yo̅ doeing yee shall administer unto mee singular pleesure to bee amongst others remembered accordingly: and hartely fare yu̅ well.

"At my place beside Westm̄, ye last day of ffebruary. Y^r loving frende,

"T. CARD^lis. EBOR."

That Wolsey should have been so very anxious for the increase of his legantine power is not surprising, even when we reflect on his then existing authority. In fact, the legantine court was now a species of English popedom; and though it has been repeatedly asserted that the court, as esta-

blished by Wolsey, gave to the people sufficient reason to complain of a vast and rapacious power, unknown to the constitution, and boundless in its capricious decrees, against which there was no redress, nor even appeal; yet it is rather a remarkable counter fact, that Wolsey's legantine conduct, in this court at least, formed no part of the charges against him. The legality of its establishment was, indeed, called in question; but no complaint was made of its exercise of power, from whence the inference may fairly be drawn that no abuses had really been committed by it.

But even to this legantine power some opposition was made; not indeed by the laity, but by the members of religious houses, especially by the friars observant, who positively refused to admit of Wolsey, or any of his officers, exercising the right of visitation claimed under the papal bull. But the Cardinal soon found a method of getting over this difficulty, by putting the ecclesiastical laws in force, when nineteen of the order were accused publicly at St. Paul's Cross, by Friar Forest, one of their own fraternity *. He even went further, in procuring an explanatory bull from Clement VII., after the legantine power was conferred upon him for life, in which the pope says, that out of the plenitude of his power, and in regard to the Cardinal's great zeal for religion,

* This Forest was afterwards hanged, 30th of Henry VIII. for denying the king's supremacy.

his extraordinary virtue, probity, and merits, and to the end that vice and the Lutheran heresy might be extirpated, he gave to his legate full authority to visit all religious houses, whether claiming exemption or not; to reform and punish such members of them as might deserve it; and even, if necessary, to eject or to deprive them, in spite of all appeals, or pretended privileges.

Backed by these concessions, and by the royal favour, the Cardinal proceeded in his plans, and the first proof of his determination was on the 10th of May, when he procured the king's consent for suppressing the monastery or priory of St. Frideswed. He was, however, too much occupied by foreign politics, at this moment, to dedicate as much time as he wished to his home plans; and there appears to have been much underhand diplomatic intrigue carried on by France, through the medium of an incognito envoy, facetiously, and in some measure ignorantly, called Jokin by cotemporary annalists; but whose real name was *Joannes*, or Joachin de Passano, Lord de Vaux, as is proved by a subsequent negotiation for the arrears of Mary's dowry.

The residence of this Joachin, or Jokin, as he is called by our old writers, did not fail to excite considerable jealousy at the imperial court; one anecdote connected with which shows that Wolsey, if he did not feel, could at least affect moderation and candour: for we are told by Groves,

and also by Fiddes, that the Cardinal was not ill treated and misrepresented by the emperor's ambassador only, but it also appears that the Lady Margaret of Flanders, and a certain lord of her court, named Hogstrace, had spoken some words highly reflecting on him, which latter the lady having heard, she desired the same might be repeated. This her request was, by Dr. Knight, communicated to the Cardinal, who directed that minister to make a reply to the following effect—that he had no inclination to renew and repeat things of displeasure, nor to hear a repetition of what had been accidentally spoken without any formed design to his disadvantage. But on what account, or with what view soever the words were repeated, the Lady Margaret and that lord had made judgment of his conduct, for which he had given no just occasion; and that whatever had been said in a passion or otherwise, her virtue and wisdom were so well known to the king and to himself, that there could be no want of due regard for his majesty, nor of good will towards him; and that he would, therefore, no more reflect on what had passed, but desired that the lady might be assured she would always find the king a firm, constant, and perfect friend, and himself a faithful and loving son, ambitious of doing her honour and service; and that instead of recollecting words, it would be expedient to attend to things of real consequence to the common cause, wherein he

should continue to exert himself with that ardour and sedulity which he had hitherto shown on all occasions.

This is said to have had the desired effect, and to have put a stop, in some degree, to the ill-will engendered against him in that quarter.

It was indeed prudent in Wolsey, at the first discovering this, to check any political feeling against him that might eventually have given rise to diplomatic discussion; for with the affairs then upon his hands, he must have been sufficiently employed. Such indeed, as we are told, and it may be presumed upon good authority, were his extensive diligence and attention, at this moment, to the affairs of state, both internal and foreign, that his negotiations were not confined to the courts of Rome, Germany, Venice, and the Low Countries, but were extended to all the courts of Europe, so far as the interest of his master was concerned; and though he was now so glorious an encourager of learning and learned men, yet he neglected not to fulfil his judicial offices to the full contentment of the suitors. We see also, by a letter to the Bishop of Bath, Henry's envoy at Rome, on subjects relative to civil as well as religious affairs, particularly in regard to a report of the pope being disposed to adopt French interests, that still, notwithstanding his attachment to the papal court, he would not sacrifice to his love for her either the honour of his master, or the in-

terests of his native country. Yet those interests he sometimes forgot when, disdaining the constitutional call on parliament, he attempted, as in this year, to raise money by forced loans. It is true that the Cardinal, by his personal exertions, was enabled to carry things with a high hand over the city, yet in the country a spirit of independence was beginning to show itself, which augured better times. Even the clergy opposed him on this specific occasion; for when commissioners were sent to them for the fourth part of their lands and moveables, they were told by the priests that they would pay nothing, except it were granted by convocation. They even represented that no King of England had ever yet asked for any man's goods but by an order of the law; but the commission they asserted was contrary to law, wherefore the Cardinal, and all the promoters thereof, were enemies to the king and to the commonwealth; and this they did not confine to private representations, but spoke of it openly from their pulpits.

In fact, when the affair became generally known over the kingdom, it produced much discontent; or, as Hall describes it, "howe the greate men toke it was marvell; the poor cursed; the riche repugned; the light wittes railed: but, in conclusion, all people cursed the Cardinal and his coadherentes, as subversors of the lawes and libertie of Englande. For thei saied, if men should geve

their goodes by a commission, then wer it worse then the taxes of Fraunce, and so Englande should be bond, and not free."

One instance of this resistance to oppression we shall relate. When the commissioners sat at Reading in Berks, the people would on no account agree to pay the sixth, which was called for: but they willingly offered a twelfth, or twenty-pence in the pound; and the commissioners appearing satisfied, said they would send to the Cardinal, and request him also to be satisfied with this offer. Lord Lisle wrote the letter, and Sir Richard Weston, at the particular request of the gentlemen of the county, undertook to present it to Wolsey; but the latter flew into a most violent rage, and said, that were it not that Lord Lisle's letter stated the affair to be only communed of but not concluded, it should have cost his lordship his head, and his lands should have been sold, "to paie the kyng the values, that by him and you folishe commissiones he had lost, and all your lives at the kynge's will: these wordes sore astonied Sir Richard Weston, but he said little."

Orders were then sent to the various commissioners not to swerve in the slightest degree from the instructions already given; but nothing could stop the public murmurs. Some cried out that the king never paid what he borrowed; others, that whatever was granted, no good came of it; whilst the majority complained that Wolsey sent

all the money to Rome, to gratify the pope, and to secure his own purposes.

In these complaints there was, perhaps, but too much truth; yet, in this very year, he was exhibiting proofs of his disinterestedness, in the projecting of two colleges, one to be preparatory and founded at Ipswich, the place of his nativity; the other at Oxford, to be called Cardinal College, but now Christ Church.

It is generally believed, that in those two seminaries Wolsey intended to have introduced quite a new system of education, in which the true mode of studying the classics was to have been adopted, in preference to the "absurd sciences," of which it is said by Fosbrooke *, that their tendency was such as to create, not a man of science, but a mixture of the puppy, pedant, and pettyfogger; a pert, litigious, captious, vain, and ostentatious character; quibbling, but not able; quick, but shallow!

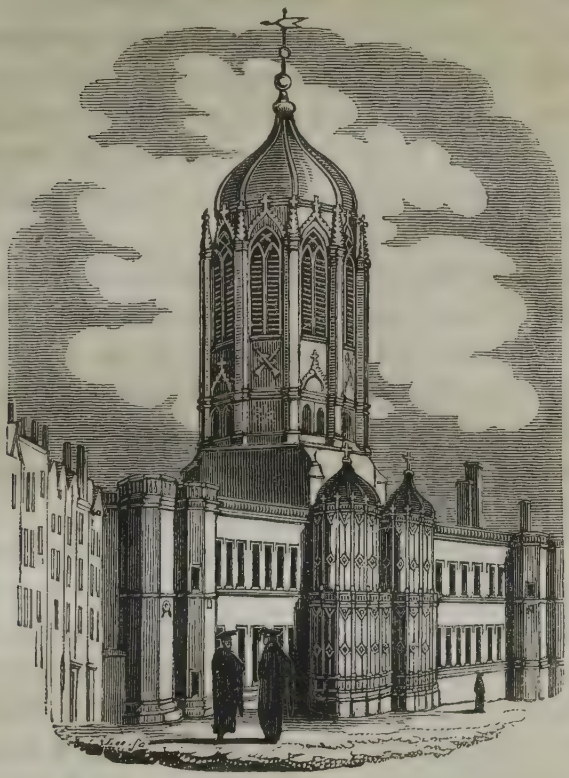
Having obtained the royal permission, together with a bull from the pope, for the endowment of his Oxford College out of the funds of various suppressed monasteries, the Cardinal thought himself justified in announcing his intention publicly to the university, and he soon after commenced it upon a most noble and extensive plan; which, however, as we shall see, was put a stop to in a

* Fosbrooke's Monastic Life.

very few years. Of this unfinished structure, Rodolph Walther, a German, said that Wolsey began a college and built a kitchen; but he also built the Gate-houses, in which, unfortunately, he gave great offence to the jealous Henry, by setting his own arms above the royal shield.

Though Wolsey did not retain the royal favour, nor live long enough to complete his intended plan, yet sufficient was done to show that, uniting public benefit with splendour, it would have exceeded any similar institution in Europe. Dallaway observes, that Rome itself would not then have offered a retreat of science and learning so perfect and extensive in all its plans. It is impossible, however, to judge fairly of the intended plan from its present state; for being left unfinished upon Wolsey's fall, though the foundation was resumed, and Christ Church established by royal authority in 1545, yet nothing particular was done until 1638, when, as stated by the author already quoted, the society designed to reduce the whole to uniformity; but the civil war prevented its completion, which did not take place before 1665. Dallaway adds, that many alterations were then made, but without taste; that the cloister being removed, the area was sunk several feet, and a terrace raised round the quadrangle; and that the parapet of the whole building was surrounded with rails in the Italian style, having globes of stone at regular distances—but by no

means corresponding with the architecture of Wolsey.



Other alterations have since taken place; and the globes have been removed; but still the effect is not so striking as it ought to be, or might have been. The effect produced by the *coup d'œil* of the quadrangle, which forms an exact square, is by no means equal to that of Trinity College at Cambridge: it must be confessed, however, that

the quadrangle of Trinity is larger, whilst its irregularity, with the greater variety of buildings which surround it, renders it peculiarly picturesque, far beyond the regularity and symmetry of Christ Church quadrangle. Yet Trinity possesses nothing equal to the great hall, with the magnificence of which every eye must be struck, as also with its space and grandeur of proportion, and propriety of ornament.

It may be recorded as a singular coincidence, that in the ground-plan towards the street there is a very striking resemblance of the front of Thornbury Castle in Gloucestershire, built by Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, whose ruin was said to have been effected by Wolsey, about the time that he first meditated the college.

There have been various charges brought against Wolsey for the mode and manner in which these things were executed; perhaps the statement, by Hall, in his Chronicle, may be considered as combining the most material, where he says,—" this seeson, the Cardinal beyng in the kynge's favor, obteined license to make a college at Oxford, and another at Ipswyche; and because he would geve no landes to the said colleges, he obteined of the Bishop of Rome license to suppresse and put down diverse abbayes, priories, and monasteries, to the nomber of ——— wherefore sodainly he entered, by his commissioners, into the saied houses, and put out the religious, and tooke all their goodes,

moveables, and scarcely gave to the poore wretches any thyng, except it wer to the heddes of the house; and then he caused thexcheter to sit, and to finde the house voyde, as relynquished, and founde the kyng founder, wher other men wer founders, and with thes landes he endowed all his colleges, which he began so sumptuous, and the scholars wer so proud, that everie persone judged that they would not be good."—

Nor were these prognostications in vain; for having in September, 1524, procured a new bull from Pope Clement, with jurisdiction to visit and reform all religious places, with an extension of all powers conferred by former bulls, and that accompanied by another bull for the suppression of forty monasteries, to the amount of 3000 ducats per annum, it was soon found that Henry knew how to act upon the precedent without waiting for a papal bull, when he afterwards proceeded to seize upon the church lands for his own purposes.

With all this weight of ecclesiastical business upon his hands, the Cardinal was not inattentive to state affairs, especially in Scotland, where the Duke of Norfolk was in the accredited character of the king's agent, but, in fact, rather as his viceroy. Wolsey had formerly sided with the Duke of Albany's party, in opposition to that of the Earl of Angus; but he appears now to have changed his politics, as there is a letter of the 15th of Sep-

tember, in the British Museum *, in which he confers with the duke about bringing James V. into England, plots to seize upon the Scottish Chancellor, and lays down schemes to supplant Albany. In a subsequent letter also, from one Robert Lord, of the 2d of October, there are full and convincing proofs of the bribery which Wolsey practised in that distracted country, with lists of various sums paid to the queen dowager, to the young king, and to many of the very first nobility.

Thus by bribery and diplomatic skill, Wolsey was in fact the prime mover of the European courts, and the favourite of the European princes, who disdained not to secure him to themselves by counter bribery, or by the most fulsome adulation.

We could adduce many instances of the flattery poured forth upon the Cardinal during his courtly power; but two must suffice †.

The King of Denmark thus wrote to him from Mechlin, on the 1st of December, 1524.

"Christian, King of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, &c.

"To our right reverend Father and Lord, the Lord Thomas, through the commiseration of God, Cardinal of St. Cecilia, Archbishop of York, Primate of all England, &c., our long and most dearly loved friend and protector."—

* Cott. Col. b. vi. 227. et seq.

† Brit. Mus. Ays. Col. No. 4166. art. 12.

From the flattery of a crowned head, we now turn to that of the Prior of Winchelcumbe; or, as he signs himself, "Richard, Minister of the unworthy Monastery of Winchelcumbe."—

"Most reverend Father and Lord in Christ, the splendour and ornament of all Cardinals.

"Even from this place, most glorious Cardinal and Prince, I could bring forward much, relative to the public commendation of your sanctity, and to the general report of your singular virtues, did I not understand those your most splendid and divine virtues to be rather desirous of the veneration and silent admiration of mankind, than of their loudest praises.

"I send, as accompanying this present letter, to your serene Lordship, the Cardinal, oh! most clement Father, as a proof of love and the most faithful obedience, eight lampreys, in four separate pasties.

"In the sweetest power, throughout all the world, most holy Father and most worthy Lord, may your power and influence for ever live and flourish."—

We might close this section by recording, that on the 12th of October, 1524, the Cardinal, anxious to reform and to amend the medical system then pursued in England, obtained the royal patent to Dr. Linacre, authorising him to found three lectures, in the metropolis, to be called Linacre's Lectures, from whence we may hail the dawn of

judicious medical science and practice: but we have reason to believe, in opposition to Burnet and other writers, that the Cardinal's downfall may be dated even so early as this period, inasmuch as it was in this year his fair enemy, Anne Boleyn, returned from France to her native country. She was the daughter, as indeed every body knows, of Sir Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, and was born in 1507, about two years before Henry came to the throne. When between seven and eight years old, she was destined to enter upon the great theatre of the world, being taken over to Paris by the Princess Mary, and left there, on her second marriage, under the immediate patronage of the French queen, who was much pleased with her, even at that early age, for her beauty, elegance of manner, and lively wit; but on whose death, in 1524, the Lady Anne returned to her paternal roof.

That this lady must have been gifted with an extraordinary share of beauty, will not readily be doubted; yet it is a fact, that the portrait shown for her at Hever Castle, in Kent, speaks very little in favour of her personal charms. Some historians too have written rather indecorously of her. Sanders, in particular, asserts that her shape was very deformed and irregular, and that her actions in France were so loose, that she became notorious for her irregular life, yet was she very much caressed at that court. But to these censures we

can attach little credit; for, if true, they must have been generally known, and it is not to be supposed that Henry would have been the last man acquainted with them.

Nor is it likely that Katharine would have received her into her court and confidence, which she did in the situation of maid of honour, had there been any foundation for such reports, or even suspicion of impropriety.

Besides, had she been so deformed, as Sanders represents, it is not probable that Henry would have regarded her with eyes of desire, which there is reason to believe he did very soon after her return; for it was not very long afterwards that he used his personal influence with Wolsey to put a stop to a love affair between her and the young Lord Percy, son to the Earl of Northumberland, who was then one of the noble pupils in the Cardinal's household.

Percy, it is said, had so far gained upon her affections, that she had agreed to a private marriage, when their intimacy became known; but as the origin of Anne Boleyn's dislike to the Cardinal has been differently related by various authors, perhaps a brief sketch of the statement, by Cavendish, may be interesting, and considered as approaching as near to the truth as any.

He says, that amongst Wolsey's titled attendants was the young Lord Percy, son to the Earl of Northumberland, who always accompanied him

when he went to court, more particularly so after he had seen the lovely Anne, recently appointed maid of honour to the queen, when many interviews took place between the youthful pair, and at length they went so far as to be contracted privately; but this reached Henry's ear, who already loved her, and meant to have her for his own, though without marriage, his divorce being then unthought of, and he instantly desired the Cardinal to send for the Earl of Northumberland, and at the same time to take care personally to dissolve the contract between the parties, which he did, adding thereto a very sharp reproof to Percy, for having acted as he had done without the consent of either his sovereign or father.

The Earl of Northumberland, on receiving the summons, instantly set off for the court, and presented himself first to the Lord Cardinal, "as all great personages did, that in such sort were sent for, of whom they were advertized of the cause of their sending for: and when the earle was come, hee was presently brought to the Cardinell into the gallery; after whose meeting, my Lord Cardinell and he were in secret communication a long space; after their long discourse, and drinking a cup of wine, the earle departed, and at his going away, he sat downe at the gallery end in the hall upon a forme, and being sat, called his sonne unto him, and said"—but it is needless to repeat what he said, except to observe that he threatened him

with disinheritance, having obtained the king's leave to change the descent to some of his other sons, should he prove disobedient, requesting those of the household who stood round to be kind to him nevertheless, and to point out to him his faults—closing his speech with these words, which would not now be brooked in a protestant country, "and son, goe your wayes unto my Lord your master, and serve him diligently."

This is of itself sufficient to show how rudely the Cardinal tyrannized even over the oldest nobility of the realm, who felt themselves forced to crouch to him, lest they should incur his displeasure.

The contract, as the king desired, was speedily dissolved, and the youthful lover was forced to marry a daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, to the great discontent of "Mistris Anne," whose ambition had not then soared higher than an earl's coronet. She no sooner heard of the proceedings, and that the youthful Percy was ordered to avoid her company, than she declared openly that if it ever should lie in her power, she would be revenged upon Wolsey. This was soon rumoured abroad, when it came to the king's and Cardinal's ears—"and so was she for a time discharged the court, and sent home to her father, wherat she was much troubled and perplexed. For all this time she knew nothing of the king's intended purpose."

Shortly after the marriage of Lord Percy, she

was recalled to the court, where she soon burst forth in all the appearance of power and splendour, a circumstance that excited many scandalous reports, though certainly without any just foundation. Yet it must be acknowledged that, agreeable to modern ideas, her conduct was chargeable with great indelicacy, for, as Cavendish quaintly states, "She at last knowing the king's pleasure, and the depth of his secrets, then began to look very haughtily and stout, lacking no manner of rich apparell, or jewels that money could purchase."

That all this came from the king may be doubted, when it is understood that her apparent high estimation with Henry induced many, both in and out of court, to believe that she was the fountain of royal favour, and the only channel through which court applications could advantageously be made. This of course must have brought her numerous presents, for bribery was then the order of the day; and it is probable that such presents, notwithstanding what they obviously implied, were seldom refused.

In the midst of all this, Queen Katharine took all things very coolly; appearing to hold her maid of honour in higher estimation than ever, and not even hinting at any cause of suspicion. Indeed, it is probable that Katharine already was aware of being surrounded by enemies, and that even Wolsey himself was intriguing to dissolve

her marriage, in order to insure the papal chair to himself, by a renewed French connexion.

But at this early period, Anne Boleyn was working the Cardinal's disgrace; for the principal nobility about the court, disgusted with the upstart tyranny and overbearing demeanour of the priestly favourite, held frequent consultations, and at length resolved to avail themselves of her influence with the king, to work his ruin. With their views and objects she was speedily made acquainted; and she entered into them with great spirit: but they were afraid yet to proceed to extremities. Their plans, however, got wind; and the Cardinal resolved to circumvent them by standing forward as a candidate for the good will of the young favourite, for which purpose he gave frequent sumptuous entertainments, masques, balls, &c., to the king, to all of which Anne was invited; insomuch that it was observed, "now the Cardinal began to grow into such wonderful inventions not heard of before in England, and the love between this glorious lady and the king grew to such perfection, that divers things were imagined," of which we shall have subsequent occasion to take notice.

It is a fact, not a little curious, and not generally known, that the first sight of Anne Boleyn by Henry, or rather their first moment of confidential intercourse, seems to have actually been by the connivance, or perhaps the appointment of Wol-

sey, for it took place at his archiepiscopal residence at Battersea, formerly called Bridge House, but afterwards York House, which name it still retains, remaining still in the see of York, but granted out on lease: and Manning, in his Surrey*, observes that it has been considerably altered by a recent occupier, who took down many of the old rooms. This is much to be regretted; monuments of antiquity and of the olden time are decaying, or wantonly destroyed, too rapidly: but the destruction of one of these apartments, however it may be lamented by the lover of feudal remains, led to a discovery somewhat remarkable. This apartment was the painted chamber, superb for that time, with a dome ceiling, and said to have been the one where Henry and Anne first met, during a course of masquerades, and other entertainments, with which Wolsey frequently amused the mirth-loving king. When the floor was removed, as stated by Manning, there was found under it a chased gold ring, on the inside of which was inscribed, "Thy virtue is thy honour,"—a fact which seems to bear an apt reference to the early days of Henry's acquaintance with his future wife.

Doubts have indeed been entertained of the fact that Wolsey, who, when he was Archbishop of York, lived in as great and sometimes in greater state than the king himself, and was owner of two

* Vol. III. p. 334.

most magnificent palaces, should reside in a house which would not have contained half his retinue: so says Lysons, who adds that, "it is well known that these entertainments were given at York House, Whitehall."

But the Cardinal, like the king, was sometimes fond of retiring to his smaller mansions, where he might be, in some measure, incognito; and this partial retirement may even have been necessary, as a relaxation in favour of health, from the fatigues of state affairs, since he every day now found himself rising in wealth and power, and consequent business: for, indeed, the whole internal regulations of the kingdom were at his disposal, whilst in foreign affairs the same influence was allowed to him; and the latter part of his office he transacted always like a man of business, being easily accessible to the whole diplomatic body of that day, which, however, was certainly not very numerous. Yet amidst all this hurry and bustle of home and foreign politics, he seems not to have been averse for conviviality; his table being generally filled with noblemen and gentlemen, and the king himself taking great delight in a frolicksome visit to my Lord Cardinal.

For these royal visits careful preparation was always made, both as to the table and elegance of accommodation, together with all such amusements of the day as could be invented or improved. Many of these sportive festivals consisted of ban-

quets set forth with masquers and mummers, fitted up in the most superb style then in fashion, and "there wanted no damsells meete to dance with the masquers, or to garnish the place, for the time, with variety of other pastimes. Then was there divers kinds of music, and many choyce men and women singers appointed to sing, who had excellent voyces."

On one occasion, the king went to visit the Cardinal in masquerade, accompanied by a dozen of his most confidential friends all masqued, dressed in garments cut like those of shepherds, but made of fine cloth of gold and silver wire. Six torch-bearers came next, with drummers and others; the whole masqued, and dressed in satin. Wolsey expected him; but kept it secret, merely ordering some guns to be prepared at the water gate, to be fired off on the arrival of any strangers. He had a party, both of ladies and gentlemen, with him at the time, enjoying a splendid banquet, who all started up in surprise when they heard the firing of the great guns, in some measure deranging the formality of the festival, which had been sedulously prepared by Lord Sands, then Lord High Chamberlain, and Sir Henry Guildford, Comptroller of the Household. The order was that the tables were set in the chamber of presence covered, at the upper end of which was the Cardinal under his cloth of state, to be served distinct from the rest of the party, who were arranged, a

lady and a nobleman, a gentleman and a gentlewoman along one side of all the tables through the whole suite of chambers; but all joined so as to form but one table.

Scarcely were the company thus arranged, when the guns were discharged at the water-gate; at which the ladies and gentlemen wondered, or pretended to wonder, most surprisingly: and the Cardinal, with the same show of ignorance, desired Lord Sands to ascertain the cause of the salute. His lordship, and some others in the secret of this child's play, proceeded to a window looking upon the river; and, on their return, declared that they supposed some noblemen and strangers were arrived at the bridge, perhaps coming as ambassadors from some foreign prince. To this report, Wolsey replied, "I desire you, because you can speak French, to take the pains to go into the hall, there to receive them into the chamber, where they shall see us, and all those noble personages being merry at our banquett, desiring them to sit down with us and to take part of our fare."

The persons, thus deputed, went to the hall, where they received the strangers with much mysterious pomp, by the light of twenty torches, and they "conveyed up into the chamber," says Cavendish, "with such a number of drums and flutes, as I have seldom seen together at one time and place."

The masquers, now entering the chamber, proceeded, two and two, to the Cardinal's chair, and were by him "saluted very reverently;" when Lord Sands stood forward as master of the ceremonies, saying to Wolsey, "Sir, forasmuch as they are strangers, and cannot speak English, they have desired me to declare unto you, that they having understanding of this your triumphant banquet, where are assembled such a number of fair dames, they could do no less, under the supportation of your Grace, than to view as well their incomparable beauties, as to accompany them at *mumchance*, and after that to dance with them, so to beget their better acquaintance. And furthermore they require of your Grace license to accomplish this cause of their coming."

To this the Cardinal replied that the strangers were welcome, and were perfectly at liberty to do as they requested; and then the masquers proceeded to salute all the ladies, and then, as Cavendish describes it, "returned to the most worthiest, and there opened the great cup of gold, filled with crowns and other pieces to cast at. Thus *perusing*" (a phrase not very comprehensible at this day) "all the gentlewomen, of some they wonne, and to some they lost."

The masquers now returned to the Cardinal, saluted him with great reverence, and poured down before him all their gold, amounting to more than two hundred crowns. "At all!" ex-

claimed he, and rattling his box, he threw and won it, which was made a source of great apparent joy and rejoicing. After this lucky hit, Wolsey said to the Lord Chamberlain, "I pray you go tell them, that to me it seemeth that there should be a nobleman amongst them, that better deserves to sit in this place than I; to whom I should gladly surrender the same, according to my duty, if I knew him:" on which Lord Sands addressed the masquers in French, repeating the Cardinal's request, to which they answered in a whisper, when Sands replied to Wolsey, "Sir, they confess that amongst them is such a noble personage, whom if your grace can point out from the rest, he is contented to disclose himself, and to accept of your place most willingly."

Then up rose the Cardinal, went amongst the strangers, appearing to hesitate in his choice, and at last said—"It seemeth to me that the gentleman with the black beard should be he:" then, as if believing himself right, seized a cup in his hand, and very politely and ceremoniously offered his chair to Blackbeard. "But the Cardinell was mistaken," adds Cavendish with great naiveté, "for the person to whom he offered his chair was Sir Edward Nevill, a comely knight, and of a goodly personage, who did more resemble his majesty's person than any other in the masque."

This apparent mistake of the politic and then playful Cardinal seems not to have been precon-

certed with any one, but himself; for the king took it as a real mistake, and laughed most heartily at it, and "pulled down his vizard, and Sir Edward Nevill's also, with such a pleasant countenance and cheere, that all the noble estates desired his Highnesse to his place."

Henry then replied, in his own character, that he would retire to alter his dress, which he did in Wolsey's bed-chamber, attiring himself in a most superb dress. During his absence, the whole of the banquet was removed, when the tables were again covered with new and highly perfumed cloth, the guests sitting quietly in their places until his majesty returned, accompanied by his fellow masquers, and in court dresses. Henry then took the seat of eminence under the cloth of estate, the guests all rising up; but he commanded them to keep their places, and presently a new service of two hundred dishes was brought in, of which they all partook most heartily. After dinner, or supper rather, dancing commenced, which lasted until morning, "which much rejoyced the Cardinall, to see his Soveraigne Lord so pleased at his house."

SECTION VII.

1525—1527.

Decline of Foreign Influence—Founds Christ Church College—Forced Loans; and Insurrections—Contest with the City—War in Italy—Secret political Intrigues—Battle of Pavia, and French King made Prisoner—Sequestration of Religious Houses—Diplomatic Intrigues—Liberation of the King of France—Encouragement of maritime Discovery—Hampton-Court—Political Satires—Royal Displeasure—Alarm at public Feeling—Ipswich School—Popular Discontents—Pope made Prisoner, and Rome taken by the Duke of Bourbon's Army—Reliance of Foreign Nations upon England—Embassy to France, courtly Anecdotes, &c.—Henry's Coldness towards the Cardinal—Embassy from France—Courtly Ceremonies, Anecdotes—Festivities at Hampton-Court—Reformers persecuted—Hampton-Court given up to the King—Popular Opprobium against Wolsey—Affair of the Earl of Kildare, &c. &c.

It was noticed by politicians, at the time when this section commences, and soon perceived by Wolsey himself, that he was sinking in favour with the Emperor Charles V., a circumstance said to have arisen from the negotiations with the French agent, Jokin, already spoken of. In fact, the Imperial ambassador, as early as the 9th of April, left England, offended, as was then believed, by

the reception which Jokin met with from the Cardinal: but the true cause was never distinctly known, as he set off without taking leave of the king, cardinal, or any official person. He travelled with such haste into Spain, through France, that he arrived at the Imperial court before an English embassy, which had departed nearly a month before him. Through his report, as generally stated, not only were the ambassadors unsuccessful, but the accustomed favour, which the emperor and his council had hitherto shown to the English, was evidently on the decline, "and the emperor withdrew his good opinion from the Cardinal, which the Cardinal soon perceived."

That this personage, so familiarly termed "Jokin" by cotemporary annalists, was in reality a messenger from France, but unaccredited as a public agent, is clear from the circumstances connected with his reception; for he was kept close concealed in the house of Dr. Larke, a prebendary of St. Stephen's, whither the Cardinal repaired every day in the most private manner to consult with him. There he remained until the 24th of February, when he was brought to London, but still kept incognito. These certainly were circumstances completely calculated to justify the suspicions of the Imperial ambassador; indeed, some later historians consider them as indisputable proofs that this secret mission was the foundation of the subsequent dishonourable peace

with France, when that monarch was reduced to the last extremity, by the loss of the battle of Pavia, where both he and Henry of Navarre were taken prisoners.

In the midst of all this political change and bustle, the Cardinal seems to have preserved great magnanimity; if we may judge from the steady hand with which he adhered to his purposes in favour of education, and of classic literature: for we find that on the 20th of March he laid the foundation stone of his proposed college at Oxford; and for the library of which he actually took measures to obtain copies of all the Greek and other MSS. then stored up in the Vatican, during the dawn of revived literature under the Medici family. The king's letter authorising this foundation was not drawn up until the 13th of July; but in the interim much was done to complete the funds necessary for its support. In March, we find a bull from Clement VII. to dissolve Tiptre Priory, in Essex, for that purpose; and the Abbey of Lesnes in Kent, with the monastery of Begham in Sussex, were both granted to him by the king; the priory of St. Lawrence de Blakemore in Essex was also suppressed, and the rectory of Marybone given to Wolsey, with licence to appropriate it to the Dean and Canons of Christ-church; but they, for they were already appointed, at his request granted it to the master and scholars of the school at Ipswich, then in a state of preparation.

But busier scenes soon took place, both in home and foreign politics; for Henry being now anxious to carry the war into the heart of France, notwithstanding the imperial suspicion of double-dealing, but in want of means to do so, it was determined in council to send commissions into every county to examine into every man's means, and to levy one sixth either in money or plate; a measure which produced very strong remonstrances, on the ground that wrong was offered, and the ancient customs and laws broken, which decreed that no man should be charged with payments except such as were granted by the three estates of the realm in parliament. Indeed the burthen was considered so grievous, both as to its principle and the sum to be levied, that the people soon appeared to be in a state of dangerous commotion, the public spirit of England then beginning, though hardly daring, to show itself; but sufficient was known to convince both the king and the Cardinal that something must be done to check the spirit of resistance which actually threatened a rebellion.

With regard to Henry himself it is rather a curious fact, which, if true, manifests how much the Cardinal dared to do under shadow of the royal authority, that when the extent of probable ill-consequences was explained to him, he openly declared that he never knew of the demand, and he instantly gave orders for his letters

to be sent to the city of London and to other places, worded in the gentlest manner, and positively stating that he did not ask for any specific sum, but merely so much as his loving subjects would grant to him of their own good will towards the maintenance of his wars.

All this marks Wolsey's tortuous policy, who now found it necessary not only to teach his royal master how to act the jesuit, but also to play the same part himself. Accordingly on the 26th of April, he summoned the lord mayor, aldermen, and many of the principal members of the common-council, to meet him at Westminster, when he assured them that the king most graciously considered the great love, zeal, and obedience which they bore unto him, "and when like loving subjects, without any grudge or gain-saying of your loving minds, you have granted the sixt part of all your goods and substance freely to be paid according to the sixt valuation, the which loving grant and good mind he so kingly accepted, that it was marveile to see;"—but he then boldly and unblushingly asserted that he himself, considering their great losses and heavy charges, and the readiness with which at all times they had obeyed all the king's demands and commissions, had taken care to have the king informed thereof, for which his majesty gave them hearty thanks; on which he had kneeled down to his grace, showing him both their good minds towards him,

and also the charges continually sustained by them, whence at his (Wolsey's) desire and petition, the king was now content to recal and abrogate the commission. He then continued, with a grave face, to assure them that although the king, by reason of their own grants, might have demanded the *sixth* as a very debt, yet he was still content to release and pardon the same, and would take nothing from them but their benevolence; "wherefore," added he, " take heere with you the king's letter, and let it be read to the commons, and I doubt not but you will gladly doe as loving subjects would doe."

This solemn farce being over, the lord mayor and citizens retired, and two days after, the king's letter was read in the common council, when a deputation of four aldermen and twelve common council men was sent to Hampton Court, where the Cardinal then was, to thank him for his kindness to the city: but Wolsey, on pretence of business, refused to see them; a measure which gave great offence to the deputation, and to the corporation at large.

Something, however, was to be done; and accordingly, each of the aldermen called a meeting of his ward, and " gently moved" them to grant a benevolence: but this was sturdily refused, on the ground that they had paid enough before, " with many evill words."

This backwardness on the part of the citizens

did not suit the politics of the court; therefore on the 8th of May, Wolsey again sent for the mayor and aldermen, who informed him of what they had done; when the haughty favourite exclaimed,—"You have no such commission to examine any man. *I* am *your* commissioner. *I* will examine you one by one myself; and then I shall know the good will that you bear to your prince; for I will ask a benevolence of you in his name."

To this the recorder replied that, by the law, no such benevolence could be asked, nor could any man be so examined, being contrary to the statute made in the first of Richard III. He added that some persons being brought thus before the Cardinal might through fear grant that which all their lives after they would repent; whilst others, in hope of acquiring favour, might grant more than their own means would admit of, and thus be tempted to run in debt to make good their offers, —"so that by dreadful gladness, and fearful boldness, men shall not be masters of themselves, but as men dismaied shall grant that, that their wives and children shall sore rew!"

To this remonstrance the Cardinal, we are told, listened very patiently, and answered quietly,—"Sir, I marvell that you speak of Richard III., which was an usurper and murtherer of his own nephewes: then, of so evill a man, how can the acts be good? Make no such allegations! His acts be not honorable!" To such barefaced sophistry

it is difficult to find an answer except contempt and utter denial; but the recorder coolly replied, —" and it please your Grace, although he did evill, yet in his time were many good acts made, not by him only, but by the consent of the body of the whole realm, which is the Parliament."

Wolsey felt rather staggered at this steady conduct on the part of the citizens, and the Lord Mayor, Sir William Bailey, seems to have noticed it, and with great ingenuity to have turned the Cardinal's judgments against him; for, in reference to the assertion that the proceedings of the corporation had been illegal, Bailey instantly knelt down and besought, or rather remonstrated, that " sith it was enacted by the common councell of London, that every alderman should sit in his own ward for a benevolence to be granted, which hee perceived to be against the law, that the same act by the same common councell might be revoked, and no otherwise."

" Well!" replied Wolsey, " I am content. But now will I enter into the king's commission. You maior, and you master aldermen, what will ye give?" " My Lord," said the mayor, " I pray you pardon me; for if I should enter into any grant, it might fortune to cost me my life."

" Your life!" exclaimed the Cardinal, " that is a marvellous word! For your good will towards the king, will the citizens put you in jeopardy of your life? That were strange! for if they would

that way, then must the king come with a strong power them to oppresse: wherefore, speake no more such words." He paused, and apparently studying a little, added, "my lord mayor, let you and your citizens, if you be grieved with any thing in this demand, humbly, and after a good fashion, come to me, and I shall so intreet you, that you shall be content, and no displeasure arise: and so, I pray you, shew your neighbours." Thus ended the conference, the mayor and aldermen well knowing that even if they had agreed to any demands on the part of the Cardinal, still would the same have been refused by the common council.

A meeting was called, however, on the ensuing day, the 9th of May, when the common council were informed of what had passed, and that by the Cardinal's determination they were to go up to him severally, and *privily*, to grant what they would; but this was received with great indignation, which the lord mayor endeavouring to soften by an assurance that they would be treated gently, recommending at the same time that they should go up when sent for, the fury became so great, that they dismissed from the council three members whom they thought untrue to the city in this affair, and then broke up, without any answer being given to the Cardinal's communication.

In other parts of the kingdom the discontent was equally great; and in Suffolk particularly the affair took a very serious turn. The Duke of

Suffolk had gone down to that country, and by his courteous behaviour had persuaded the rich clothiers, who were then pretty numerous, to agree to the proposed levy: but when those gentlemen returned to their homes, and began to discharge their spinners, carders, fullers, weavers, and all their other handicrafts connected with the woollen manufactures, for which Suffolk was then famous, these poor people began to assemble privately to talk over their grievances, and to contrive how they were to procure redress.

As we had then no standing army, the law enacted that every man should be provided with certain weapons agreeable to the mode of warfare at that period, which was known under the general term of *harness;* and no sooner was the duke informed of these discontented meetings than he ordered the constables to take away every man's harness in the disturbed districts: but this only hastened resistance, and the order was scarcely given when the popular rage increased, threatening death both to the duke and the Cardinal. The popular feeling on this subject was so warm, that four thousand men appeared speedily in arms, and the duke found it necessary to collect what force he could of his own retainers, and of others; but the number of those was so totally incapable of resisting the insurgent force, that it was found necessary to break down the bridges to guard against an attack on the part of the rebels.

Similar disturbances broke out in Norfolk, which were only quieted by the temporizing conduct of the Duke of Norfolk; so that the king felt himself obliged to adopt some decisive line of conduct. Accordingly, he called a great council at York Place, Wolsey's residence, where he made an open and manly protestation that it never was his wish or intention to ask any thing from the Commons of England, contrary to the laws of the land; and he therefore demanded to know by whose order those commissioners were appointed, and who it was that had directed they should require the sixth part of every man's goods.

On this, Wolsey rose as spokesman, and replied, that when it was moved in the council that money should be levied for the king's use, not only the king's counsel, but even the judges, held that the king might demand any sum by commission. He added, that the order was consequently given by the whole council; and, for himself, he took God to witness that he never desired the hinderance of the commons, but, like a true councillor, had merely devised how to enrich the king. He then attempted to justify the unconstitutional act by the plea of its being agreeable to God's law, because Joseph had caused the King of Egypt to take the fifth part of every man's goods: after which most extraordinary piece of special pleading, he added,—" but because every man layeth the burthen from him, I am content to take it on

me, and to endure the fame and noise of the people for my good will toward the king, and comfort of you, my lords, and other the king's councillors: but the eternal God knoweth all!"

The council remained for some time silent, when the king, evidently alluding to Wolsey himself, said, "Well! *some* have informed me that my realm was never so rich; and that there should never trouble have risen of that demand; and that men would pay at the first request: but now I find all contrary."

The king paused; still were the council silent, when his majesty added,—"I will no more of this trouble. Let letters be sent to all shires that this matter may be no more spoken of. I will pardon all that have made denial openly or secretly,"—"then all the lords kneeled downe, and hastily thanked hym!"

Letters were accordingly sent, by the king's desire; but Wolsey took especial care that these letters should state that the demand originated with the lords and the judges, and others of the king's council, and that Wolsey himself, in all that he had done, had only "followed the mind of the whole council!"

That the public feelings in general were much outraged by this loan cannot be doubted, when its very tradition was so strong in the days of Elizabeth, that Shakspeare makes it a main point in his exquisite play founded upon the favourite's

fall. It is also a fact deserving of especial notice, that from this affair that fall may certainly be dated; for it is on record that it was even then remarked by some of the courtiers, that Henry did not, on this occasion, pay such singular respect and favour to Wolsey as he was wont to do, but left him to get clear of the reflections and aspersions cast on him as he best could.

Nor is this surprising, if it is really true that the whole plan originated with the Cardinal; that Henry was from the first very unwilling to try it; and that he felt his dignity much abated in being obliged to change his commands for the asking of a benevolence. This renders it far from improbable that in the course of the affair, during the meetings of the council, he may have, more than once, by a side glance, seemed to blame Wolsey for an injudicious attempt; and that this disposition on the part of the king having been carefully observed by the Cardinal's enemies, they may have thence formed the first idea of plotting against him, in hopes of being able to add other circumstances that might tend to weaken his hold upon the royal favour.

Of Wolsey's ideas of foreign policy a pretty fair conception may be formed from his conduct when the quarrel took place between the Duke of Bourbon and the French king, the former being forced to fly to insure his personal safety. No sooner was Wolsey acquainted with this circumstance,

than he felt the necessity of securing the duke in the English cause, rather than to leave him solely to the emperor, with whom he had taken refuge: and the king readily came into the plan, shortly afterwards joining in a treaty with the emperor, that their united armies should be commanded by the Duke of Bourbon, who was to receive monthly wages, or pay, from Henry, for himself and retinue. The treaty was to be kept a great secret, and Sir John Russel was sent over to "be continually beyond the seas in a certain place," to manage these affairs; but the most extraordinary part of the secret was, that "the Duke of Bourbon should be the King of England's champion, and generall in the field, who had a number of good souldiers over and besides the emperor's army, which was not small;" and yet with these very troops, "the duke began the warres with the French king in his owne territories and dukedom, which the king had gotten into his owne hands, *being not perfectly knowne to the duke's enemies, that he had any aide from our soverayne lord;* and thus hee wrought the French king much displeasure, inasmuch that the French king was constrained to prepare a present army, and in his own person to resist the duke's power."

It does not appear, however, that the duke, in this most extraordinary of all secret expeditions, was at first very successful; for he was soon obliged to retreat, and shelter himself in the well

fortified town of Pavia, to which the French immediately laid close siege: and, in the mean time, Francis, trusting more to diplomacy than, perhaps, to his own arms, had sent over to England that personage already spoken of, whom Cavendish calls "a very witty man," who, "for his subtle wit, was elected to treate of such an embassage as the French king had given him in commission." Still it appears, from various authorities, that Wolsey was yet friendly to the cause against France; for in the Ayscough Coll. Brit. Mus. No. 3839, p. 7, there is a long despatch from the Cardinal to Sampson and Farmingham, resident ambassadors with the emperor, relative to the state of the war in Germany, and particularly in regard to the Duke of Bourbon. We refer to it also the more particularly, because of its developement of military affairs at that period, to which the following extract alludes. Wolsey speaks of a gentleman who had arrived at court with letters from the emperor, and adds, that from him—"the king's highnes and I perceive in what readiness, state, and disposition the emperor's affairs were at the dates of the said lettres, with his intent to proceede with his army in his owne person, and to supplie by the longer continuance the tarditie and sloth which hath bene used in the settinge forth of the same, havinge alsoe made provision for early payment of the 100,000 crownes for his portion unto the Duke of Burbone, towards the

entertainment of 10,000 lance knights, and desyring that the king's grace would doe the semblable for his parte, and to give order that his army, leavinge seeges of stronge places, and passinge into the bowells of France, may continue all this winter with a convenient reinforcement:"—and soon after, when the Duke of Bourbon was in great streights and difficulties at Milan, Wolsey well knowing that no money could be sent to him by the emperor, in consequence of the communication being completely cut off by the French army, took immediate and judicious steps to remedy the difficulty, by sending instantly a despatch to the Bishop of Bath, then the English ambassador at Rome, authorising him, by any means in his power, to supply the duke with whatever sum might be required.

The various authors who treat of this period differ so much in their statements, and evidently in their sentiments also, especially in regard to the intrigue carried on by Joachin, or "Jokin," so often noticed, that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish truth from misrepresentation. If we were to propose any decided opinion as to the real fact, it would be that Wolsey was, in this instance at least, acting a double part, or, as the vulgar proverb expresses it, keeping two strings to his bow. This is, in some measure, strengthened by a statement given by a cotemporary annalist, that Joachin, on his arrival,

and even before he was brought to Dr. Larke's at Westminster, was secretly conveyed to Richmond, where he remained in privacy until Wolsey could join him at the close of the Easter term. Of all that passed between the envoy and Cardinal nothing is known, except by the supposed result, which was, that Henry finally sent orders to Italy to stop his monthly payments to the Duke of Bourbon, a measure which produced great consternation and much inconvenience in the little garrison of Pavia.

As for M. Jokin, he remained some time longer in England, and was treated by the Cardinal with great hospitality, and even familiarity; dining with him frequently during the Whitsuntide holidays, which Wolsey kept at Richmond with great festivity, and pleasing all visitors with his wit and ready conversation: but it must be observed, that this does not agree with the counter statements of other historians, nor does it appear that the Cardinal had as yet received the royal permission to reside there.

The distress to which the Duke of Bourbon and his army were reduced, by the stoppage of the monthly payments, soon increased to such an extent, that the most desperate measures became necessary; and, accordingly, a double sortie of the garrison was planned, which was completely successful. The French were surprised in their

camp, and routed; all their artillery and stores taken, and their king himself made prisoner. When the private bureau of the French monarch was searched, the treaty between the two monarchs under the great seal of England, and various other important documents, as has been positively asserted, were found, fully proving with what duplicity Wolsey had acted towards the Duke of Bourbon, and justifying the suspicion, that French money had more influence over the Cardinal than a due sense of English honour.

Unable to wreak his vengeance upon Wolsey, the duke, some time after, determined to have some revenge against the pope, and marched with his army towards Rome; he even led the first assault, but was the first who fell! His officers, however, continued the siege with such vigour, that the pope, and a considerable number of the people, were forced to take shelter in the Castle of St. Angelo, where they suffered great hardships and privations: but this anticipates the events of 1527.

In the mean time, great doubts and jealousies arose in the council at home, respecting the disposal of the French king; some wishing an invasion of France instantly to take place, whilst others insisted that England had a right to demand the captive monarch from the emperor, because he was taken by the King of England's

champion, and a few went so far as to advise that war should instantly be proclaimed against Germany, in order to enforce the claim.

But Wolsey preserved a strict silence amidst these agitations, until the arrival of ambassadors from France; when, after considerable negotiations, he at length declared himself, recommending that the emperor should be called on to set Francis at liberty, on sufficient pledge, by hostages being given; for which purpose his two sons, the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, were selected. He had no sooner declared himself, than he began to act with energy, on the ostensible ground of respect for the captive king, and of sorrow for the hardships to which the pope was then reduced; not only using all his influence with the king in private, but even condescending in public to persuade the lords of the council to come to a favourable decision on the side that he had adopted. But there were busy heads at work, as artful as his own, to render these passing events subservient to his downfall; and amongst them was Anne Boleyne, whose friends, uniting with others in the council, consulted with him in apparent friendship, offering it as their opinion, that none but the Cardinal himself could have influence enough to bring about a peace between such great potentates; and, therefore, that he ought instantly to undertake an embassy for that purpose.

How far Wolsey was convinced by these argu-

ments it is difficult to say, but it is possible that vanity and self-confidence might have blinded him to the real intent of these professed friends, which was to get him removed from court, on any terms, so that they might have more favourable opportunities of depriving him of Henry's confidence; but the embassy did not take place until 1527.

Wolsey's eagerness to seize upon the monasteries, which he had marked out for dissolution, was soon perceived by the people at large, and produced considerable discontent; and various stories were abroad in the spirit of religious superstition of that day. Amongst these is one regarding the monastery of Daventry, whither he sent the five persons who were his chief instruments, to demand from the prior and monks the occupancy of a certain portion of their grounds. To this, however, the monks demurred, finally refusing to comply; when the crafty agents contrived to excite a quarrel, after which the Cardinal, on a small occasion as it is asserted, caused this monastery to be dissolved, and its revenues to be appropriated to his new colleges.

But, agreeable to the popular account, this did not go unpunished; for two of the five agents quarrelled, and one being killed, the survivor was hanged; then the third drowned himself in a well; the fourth, "being well knowne, and valued worth two hundred pound, became in three yeeres so poore, that he begged till his dying day;" and the

fifth, Dr. Allen, who was the principal actor in these affairs, "was cruelly maimed in Ireland, even at such time as hee was a bishop."

If these proceedings had been confined solely to the monasteries for males, the public clamour would not, probably, have been so loud: but the suppression of nunneries excited much disapprobation; for whatever the prejudices, or just charges against the monks, the same did not exist against the nuns in general. The nunneries, in fact, were schools for the young females in their vicinity, where they were instructed in needle-work, confectionary, and other useful matters, and even in surgery and physic. With great rectitude of manners, there was still a great openness of conduct in the prioresses and abbesses, who presided over these establishments; and of the nuns of St. Mary in Wiltshire we have seen it recorded, that they were "often seen come forth to the nymph-hay, with their rocks and wheels, to spin."

Such usefulness, and such simplicity of manners, could not fail to meet general approbation; of course, every harsh proceeding adopted against them became unpopular: but this feeling did not alone exist amongst the laity, for it is well ascertained that the holding of so many bishoprics at once by Wolsey gave great offence to many of his brother-churchmen; so much so, indeed, that Dr. Barnes, in a sermon which he preached at Cambridge, in St. Edward's Church, on Christmas eve

in this year, took special notice of it. This sermon was reported to the Cardinal, and gave him such offence, that a charge was made out against the doctor; the most important article of which was the 6th, wherein Barnes was alledged to have said, "I will never believe that one man may be, by the law of God, a bishop of two or three cities, yea, of a whole country; for it is contrary to St. Paul, which saith, *I have left thee behind, to set in every city a bishop.*"

Previous to any judicial proceedings, the doctor was brought before Wolsey himself, then walking in his gallery at York-place, for something like a private examination, when the Cardinal began before him to read over the articles. The first five seem to have been passed over without any special notice; but, on coming to the sixth, the ecclesiastical Leviathan paused, and then said that this touched himself personally, and he asked the doctor if he really thought it wrong that one bishop should have so many sees under his jurisdiction at once? To this Barnes replied, that he could go no further than St. Paul's text, which appointed a bishop for every city; when Wolsey put an insidious query, as to whether he thought it contrary to the modern ordinance of the church? To this the doctor rejoined with great spirit, that he knew nothing of any ordinance of the church in regard to the matter, he depended solely upon what the apostle had said. But he acknowledged

that, in opposition to the apostolic practice and direction, he did see a contrary custom and practice then prevailing in the church, the original right or justification of which he was unacquainted with.

Wolsey must have felt himself much at a *non plus* at this reply; for, in fact, he had not even a modern ordinance to show in support of his pluralities; but endeavoured to meet the objection, by saying that in the apostle's time there were some cities which were six or seven miles in length, and over them was there, he asked, but one bishop set, including the charge of their suburbs also? Then, by something very like a *non sequitur*, he added, that so likewise then a byshop had but one city to his cathedral church, and the country about was as suburbs unto it! To this extraordinary mode of argument, honest Barnes could make no reply: he contents himself with observing, in his account of the affair,—"methought this was farre fetched, but I durst not deny it."

About the latter end of 1525, there was some supposed mystery of negotiations with the Queen-dowager of France; and certainly there exists, in the British Museum, a letter from her to Wolsey about the paying, or discharging, (solvendo), 121,000 crowns of gold and upwards for seven years following: and it is evident from other sources that, in this case at least, Wolsey made

the public affairs subservient, in some degree, to his own interest; for, in addition to the treaty agreed on with the Lady Regent, and ratified on the 27th of December of this year, Rapin assures us that there is, in the Collection of the Public Acts, that lady's bond, of the 18th of November (evidently signed previous to the agreement for the ratification), to pay to him all arrears of pension, for four years and a half, granted in lieu of the administration of the bishopric of Tournay. In addition to these arrears, the bond likewise specifies that, for several other weighty reasons, there was due to the Cardinal 100,000 crowns of gold; and that the whole of these sums were to be paid in seven years in half yearly payments—but Wolsey did not live to see them completed!

Pending those negotiations, others were going on at Madrid between the emperor and the King of France, still a prisoner of war; and the treaty, called the Treaty of Madrid, generally supposed to have been drawn up under the influence of England in support of Francis, was concluded in January, 1526. In this it was stipulated, that the French king should be restored to liberty, on condition of his two sons being delivered into the emperor's hands as hostages; that Burgundy should be ceded to Charles; that Francis should marry Leonora, sister to the emperor; and that he should also indemnify his imperial majesty against all demands on the part of the English court.

The liberation of Francis, in consequence of this treaty, took place on the 18th of March, when his sons were exchanged for him on the banks of the Bidassoa; and it is related of him, that no sooner had he crossed into the French territory, than he mounted a fleet horse, and setting off at a gallop, exclaimed, "I am a king—I am a king!"—an expression which some have censured, as rather discovering an excessive transport of joy, than becoming the sedateness and majesty of so great a prince; whilst others, with even less liberality, inferred from it, that being now at liberty, he should not think himself bound by the conditions of a treaty, to which he had only agreed whilst under constraint. But this latter inference is by no means probable, since he had given up his two sons as hostages for his due observance of the stipulated articles.

We have stated that the treaty of Madrid was supposed to have been drawn up under English influence, and this is confirmed by the fact, that Francis, immediately after his liberation, wrote to the Cardinal, with his own hand, acknowledging that the king and *he* had been the chief instruments of procuring his enlargement.

But the events at home, during this year, were more important than those of foreign politics, especially in the marked hostility of Wolsey to every thing connected with the Reformation: amongst other incidents, he was himself present at Paul's

Cross, attended by eleven bishops, when four merchants of the Still-yard were obliged to do penance, and Dr. Barnes, an Augustine friar, already mentioned, bore a faggot, as a mark of heresy. On this occasion, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, preached against Luther; and the whole force of the church seemed arrayed against Reformers, perhaps stirred up a little by the fact of Tindal's English translation of the New Testament being just printed at Antwerp *.

It may be here remarked as an extraordinary circumstance, in respect to a man of his general acuteness and political sagacity, that Wolsey, at this time, seems not to have been at all aware of the dangers that surrounded him; at least, he showed no scruple at making himself many enemies, the result of extensive alterations in the royal household. The occasion was this: in the winter of 1525-6, so unexpected and extraordinary a dearth took place in the metropolis, that even the law term was adjourned, and the king removed his court, at Christmas, to Eltham from Greenwich, taking with him a very small retinue. This Christmas thence received the name of the "Still Christmas:" the Cardinal, however, was not still; for on arriving at Eltham, where he

* This is that translation which was preached against by Tunstall, Bishop of London, and denounced as containing upwards of 3000 blunders! It was afterwards publicly burnt in England in May, 1530.

was invited to join the small holiday party, he immediately commenced a reform in the royal household, which rendered him very unpopular. He discharged many officers and servants, who were only allowed very small pensions; the extent of which may be estimated from one instance, of his discharging sixty-four yeomen of the guard, and reducing them from one shilling per day, with check upon the royal kitchen, to sixpence only; and who, when they complained, were told to go home into their own countries. He also busied himself much about the new household of the young Duke of Richmond, a base son of the king, and also of the Princess Mary, who was then considered princess of the realm.

Yet it is worthy of notice, that in all this hurry of court intrigue, and in the midst of his ambitious projects, Wolsey still had a regard for the welfare of the nation, though his injudicious attempts at reformation in manners sometimes produced more evil than good. An instance of this occurred in the month of May, 1526, when a proclamation was issued against all unlawful games, and commissions appointed for its fulfilment in every county, the members of which caused all draft-boards, backgammon-tables, dice, cards, bowls, &c. to be seized upon and burnt. On this we need make no further observation, than a statement of the consequences as adduced by Stowe in his Annals, who says, that " when young men were re-

strained of these games and pastimes, some fell to drinking, some to ferretting of other men's conies, and stealing of deere in parkes, and other unthriftiness!"

We have already seen that England was not backward in the search after unknown lands; Sebastian Cabot having pushed his discoveries to Newfoundland, almost as early as Columbus: and it is worthy of remark, that this spirit, so far from being checked by Wolsey, was actively patronised and encouraged by him. It has, indeed, been well observed by Groves (vol. ix. p. 46), that the Cardinal, besides his great passion for the encouraging of learning, likewise took incredible care, during the whole course of his administration, to promote the trade and navigation of the kingdom, being thoroughly convinced that industry and wealth must be the natural consequences.

It is further stated, that he cherished this love of maritime adventure in the breast of Henry, and was, in fact, the great cause of the attempts at discovery made at that period. It appears that Robert Thorne was for some years engaged, under the royal auspices, in prosecuting discoveries in the new world; though little is extant respecting him, except his expedition in the immediate employ of some merchants of Bristol: but his exertions are considered as having been highly beneficial in stimulating to active enterprise, and

to have been instrumental in eliciting that spirit which in the reign of Elizabeth led forth Drake, Hawkins, Cavendish, and others to carry the English flag into the most distant oceans.

Had the Cardinal contented himself with these exertions for his country's honour, in preference to foreign intrigue and papal ambition, his name would have acquired more of that glory of which he was so covetous than could possibly have accrued from the most successful termination of his continental schemes of aggrandisement, amongst which we must not omit to record an attempted league, in June of this year, between the Pope, the King of France, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan, for the conquest of Naples. That this scheme commenced at Wolsey's suggestion, though it has been so asserted, cannot be so distinctly proved; but it is clear that he must have intermeddled in it busily; for one stipulation was that Henry should be protector of the league, for which he was to have a principality in Naples, in which kingdom Wolsey, also, was to have a lordship worth 10,000 ducats. But the affair soon fell to the ground; and we may therefore proceed, at once, to the domestic events of the year, amongst which it may be noticed that Hampton Court was now completely finished and elegantly furnished*,

* From an inventory now preserved in the British Museum, it appears that the parlours were hung with the stories of Jacob, Susannah and the Elders, Judith and Holofernes, &c.;

and was become a very favourite place of retirement with the Cardinal, from the affairs of state. The king also frequently visited him here; and that it should have become an object of envy with his majesty is not surprising, when we reflect that it was considered, at that time, as one of the most magnificent structures in Europe; or, as Rapin says, "was a stately palace, and outshined all the king's houses."

Camden says that Wolsey built it out of ostentation to show his great wealth; and he adds, that he was on all accounts exceeding prudent, but insolence had carried him beyond himself. With all his insolence, however, he found it, even here, impossible to tread on the rights of the people; nor could he, as he wished, close up the road which leads from Kingston Bridge towards Hampton, but was obliged to leave Bushy Park thus separated from the grounds immediately belonging to the palace*.

whilst the tapestry of the Cardinal's own chamber represented the Seven Deadly Sins!

* It must have been about this year that William Roy published his satire against Wolsey, a proceeding so dangerous at that period, that he was afraid to print it in England, but had it done abroad, perhaps in Holland, by some friend whose sentiments in respect to the Cardinal were pretty much the same as his own. It was published without either place or name, and is now extremely rare; but may be seen in the Harleian Miscellany †. It is now the more rare, because

† Vide Supplement to Harleian Miscellany.

It is also deserving of notice, as we find it stated by Groves, that notwithstanding all the jealousies,

Wolsey spared, as we are told in an edition of the work in 1546, neither pains nor expense to have them all bought up.

It was first published with a wood-cut of the Cardinal's coat of arms, already noticed, of which the following description is given:

"Of the prowde Cardinall this is the shelde,
Borne up betwene two angels off Sathan;
The sixe bloudy axes in a bare felde,
Shewethe the cruelte of the red man,
Whiche hethe devoured the beautifull swan;
Mortall enmy unto the whyte lion;
Carter of Yorcke! the vyle butcher's sonne.

"The sixe bulle's heddes, in a felde blacke,
Betokeneth hys stordy furiousnes;
Wherby, the godly lyght to put abacke,
He bryngeth in hys dyvlisshe darcknes;
The bandog, in the middes, doth expresse
The mastif curre, bred in Ypswitch towne,
Gnawynge with his teth a kynge's crowne.

"The cloubbe signifieth playne hys tiranny,
Covered over with a Cardinal's hatt,
Wherin shall be fulfilled the prophecy—
'Aryse up, Jacke, and put on thy salatt,
For the tyme is come of bagge and walatt:
The temporall chevalry thus throwen downe,
Wherfor, prest, take hede, and beware thy croune.'"

The "two angels off Sathan" refer to the demi dragons which are in the mantling round the shield; and the "white swan"

political and ecclesiastical, which had long existed between him and Warham, Archbishop of Canter-

is supposed to mean the Duke of Buckingham, in reference to his cognizance or crest. The white lion is the Duke of Norfolk. "Salatt" used in the prophecy is interpreted to be synonymous with *helmet*.

The work itself is drawn up in form of a conversation between two priests' servants, "Watkyn and Jeffraye," and is sufficiently pointed to have raised Wolsey's indignation against the author, containing every article of charge, perhaps, that ever was brought against the Cardinal.

In the first allusion to Wolsey, he is spoken of as

——————"One that is the chefe,
Which is not fedd so ofte with rost befe,
As with rawe motten; so God helpe me!
Whose mule yf it shulde be solde,
So gayly trapped with velvet and golde,
And given to us for oure schare,
I durst ensure the one thynge,
As for a competent lyvynge,
This seven yere we shulde not care."—

Then Watkyn asks—

"Yf he be soche, what is his name,
Or of what regarde is his fame,
I beseche the' shortly expresse?"

To which Jeffraye replies—

"Mary, some men call hym *Carnall*,
And some saye he is the devill and all,
Patriarcke of all wickednes!"

bury, yet when that prelate, in the early part of the year, was so extremely ill that he was not

It then proceeds to note all the accusations against him in language that must not sully our pages—the charges respecting his fondness for war are most whimsical—Watkyn having said—

"He fareth nott the better for warre"—

Jeffraye answers—

"Yes, mary, it doth hym prefarre
To more gaynes then I can rehearce:
For fyrst, or the warre do begynne,
They laboure his favoure to wynne,
Givynge gyftes many and dyvers.
And yf it cannot be so pacifyed,
They brybe him on the wother side,
At the least for to be favoured:
And, fynally, warre for to ceace,
With rewardes they must hym greace!"

It is also important to notice that Wolsey was suspected and loudly accused of tampering with the confessors of those whom he wished to ruin,—

"In all the londe there is no wyght,
Neither lorde, baron, nor knyght,
To whom he hath eny hatred,
But ether by sower speche, or swete,
Of ther confessours he will wete
Howe they heve themselves behaved."—

The prevalence of such a practice, and the possibility of its

capable of going out of doors, several very friendly messages and letters passed to him from Wolsey; from which it appears that he expressed great tenderness and care for his constitution, and offered him the use of a handsome apartment at Hampton Court, believing the air there to be so good and wholesome, as to give him a fair chance of the recovery of his health.

It has been one of the charges against Wolsey, that the revenues arising from the privileges of his visitorial power, of making abbots, proving wills, granting faculties, licences and dispensations, as well as from his pensions, preferments and other visible advantages, were actually equal in amount to the revenues of the crown; to which he added other advantages not quite so visible, particularly in the employment of John Allen, one of his chaplains, in riding about with a great train in perpetual progress from one religious house to another, and drawing from each very large sums for the Cardinal's private use. Though great exaggerations were made on these subjects by his enemies, yet it is certain that in some points he had already proceeded so far as to incur the displeasure of the king, especially in regard to the convent of Wilton, to which he had appointed a prioress who was personally objected to by Henry.

recurrence, are strong arguments against the modern liberality of admitting Roman Catholics to high offices of power and confidence.

That something harsh must have passed between the king and Cardinal upon this occasion is evident from a letter of the king preserved by Lord Herbert, in his History of Henry, where his majesty is made to say—" as touching the matter of Wilton, seeing it is in no other strain than what you write of, and you being also so suddenly (with the falling sickness of your servants) afraid and troubled, I marvel not it overslipped you as it did; but it is no great matter, standing the case as it doth; for it is yet in my hand, as I perceive by your letter, and your default was not so great, seeing the election was but conditional. Wherefore, my lord, seeing the humbleness of your submission, though the case was much more heinous, I can be content to remit it; being right glad that, according to my intent, my monitions and warnings have been benignly and lovingly accepted in your behalf, promising you, that the very affection I bear you caused me thus to do."—

His majesty then went on to say,—" as touching the help of religious houses to the building of your college, I would it were more, so it were lawful; for my intent is none but that it should appear to all the world, and the occasion of all their mumbling might be secluded and put away; for surely there is great murmuring of it throughout the whole realm. Both good and bad say that all that is gotten is bestowed on the college, and that

the college is the cloak for covering all mischiefs; this grieveth me to hear it spoken of him whom I do entirely love: wherefore I thought I could do no less than thus friendly to admonish you.

"One thing more I perceive by your letter, which a little, methinks, touches conscience; and that is, you have received money from the exempts for having of their old visitors. Surely this can hardly be with conscience: for, were they good, why should you take the money? and, if they were ill, it were a sinful act. Howbeit your legacy" (legateship) "herein might peradventure *apud Homines* be a cloak, but not *apud Deum.* Wherefore you are thus monished by him who entirely loveth you, and I doubt not, you will desist not only from this, if conscience will not bear it, but from all other things which should entangle the same; and in so doing, you will sing *Te laudant angeli atq: Archangeli. Te laudet omnis spiritus:* and thus an end I make of this tho' rude yet loving letter, desiring you as benevolently to take it as I mean it; for I ensure you, and I pray you think it so, that there remaineth at the hour no spark of displeasure towards you in my heart. And thus, fare you well, and be you no more perplexed. Written with the hand of your loving sovereign and friend,

"HENRY R."

It must be acknowledged that this letter, of the

authenticity of which there can be no doubt, is of a most extraordinary nature, not only as marking the feelings of Henry towards his favourite, but also showing the commencement of that decline of influence which Wolsey so soon after experienced—a decline which thus seems to have arisen from his majesty's sense of right and wrong as much as from the machinations of the Cardinal's enemies, even whilst the personal favour of the sovereign remained as strong as ever.

This change of the king's sentiments also soon became known, and Wolsey's enemies did not fail to avail themselves of it; particularly Skelton, who is supposed to have been poet laureate, and who wrote a satire upon the occasion, but which is too indelicate for quotation here. Skelton, however, though he published his satire, presuming upon a decline of the favourite's power, seems suddenly to have been seized with a panic respecting it; for no sooner was it published than he fled to the sanctuary at Westminster, for security against the dreaded revenge of the Cardinal—a fear without any real foundation, as it does not appear he ever noticed this production.

Though the royal letter, already quoted, was a letter of reproof; yet there was still enough in it to induce Wolsey to believe that he would not be very strictly checked in his proceedings in regard to the religious houses which he had marked for destruction: but still was he subject to the effects

of public opinion; for it is well ascertained that his partial suppression of the monasteries was neither agreeable to the priesthood, nor, in some instances, to the people in their vicinity. It is told that when the monastery of Bogham, in Essex, was on the point of being suppressed, certain people, who appeared in a strange and frightful disguise after the canons were removed out of the monastery, waited upon them and conducted them back in a pompous manner; and, according to their form, reinstated them in the monastery, and withal promised to come at any time to their relief, upon the signal of ringing the abbey bell, in case of interruption from any one. But this disguise did not avail the actors; for, though Henry was fond of masking as an amusement, he did not choose that it should interfere with his orders: and, accordingly, as soon as he heard of this refractory spirit, he sent for the canons of Bogham, who underwent such a strict examination before the council, that they were obliged to confess the names of the parties concerned. The consequence was that the maskers were arrested and subjected to punishment, as a warning to others in similar cases.

But it was not the system of monachism alone that Wolsey wished to reform; he saw numberless errors in other professions, and was anxious to remove them: with regard to the law, in particular, it is said that he was much hurt at the

ignorance of the lawyers, especially those of the laity, and actually contemplated the erection of a school of law in London, exclusively for their use, and in addition to the means already afforded by the Temple, and the various Inns of Court.

That he hoped to gain popularity amongst the profession, by such a measure, is extremely probable; indeed, as affairs now stood, it was his best policy to conciliate that body, since it is evident from an occurrence which took place this year, that Wolsey had really begun to be alarmed at the public feeling towards him. The circumstance was as follows. At Christmas, a masque was got up at Gray's Inn, by the students there, according to the fashion of the times, principally founded upon passages of the Heathen mythology, with personifications of the Passions. This masque had been written and prepared, upwards of twenty years before, by a Mr. John Roo, holding the dignified situation of Serjeant at Law; and its plot was that the Lord "*Governaunce* was ruled by *Dissipation* and *Negligence*, by whose injudicious conduct and evil doings, the Lady *Public Weale* was separated from her Lord. The consequence of this, as the masque showed, was that *Rumor Populi*, *Inward Grudge*, and *Disdain of Wanton Sovereignty*, all personifications, took up arms with a multitude of followers to expel *Negligence* and *Dissipation*, and to restore *Public Weale* again to

her estate and to the society of her husband, the Lord *Gouvernaunce*."

The masque was so well got up, and so intelligible, with such rich dresses, rare devices, and amusing morris dances, that it was highly spoken of by every body, and Gray's Inn became quite the fashionable resort.

This soon reached the ears of Wolsey, who instantly supposed that the masque had been got up as a libel upon him; and, accordingly, he kept no terms with the parties implicated in its representation. His first act was, in a great fury, to send for Roo, from whom he took his coif, committing him to the Fleet prison; after which, he highly rebuked and threatened all the young gentlemen who had performed in the piece, sending even one of them, a Mr. Thomas Moyle, from Kent, to the Fleet also; but both Roo and Moyle were soon afterwards liberated through the exertions of their friends. On this subject Hall observes that "this plaie sore displeesed the Cardinell, and yet it was never meante to hym, as you have harde, wherfore many wise men grudged to see hym take it so hartely, and even the Cardinell said that the kyng was highly displeesed with it, and spake nothyng of hymself."

The opening of the year 1527 calls on us for a short notice respecting Mr. Cavendish, whose MS. life of Wolsey we have so often quoted; and

we have therefore to state, that Mr. Fitz William having this year retired from the Cardinal's service, Cavendish was appointed to fill his vacancy, which placed him near to Wolsey's person: so that of all that he relates, subsequent to this, he may be considered an eye-witness, whilst the preceding part of his memoir must depend upon the credit of his informants, amongst which number, Wolsey himself was one, in several points.

The commencement of this year was also remarkable for the foundation of his collegiate school at Ipswich, or rather, as called by some writers, a new modelling of St. Peter's priory in that town, for the education of youth until they should be fitted for the university; and which, though much inferior, as the nature of the design seemed to require it should be, in respect to the extent and revenues of Cardinal's College at Oxford, has yet been considered by his panegyrists "as no inconsiderable instance of that greatness of mind, with which he was confessedly endowed."

All the necessary preparations being made for the proposed foundation, it was upon the 6th of March, this year, that William Brown, Prior of St. Peter's Priory at Ipswich, surrendered the same to the Cardinal, who thereupon directed the foundation of his intended college to be laid; appointing a fraternity to consist of a dean, twelve canons, eight singing men, and as many choristers. The intention was that youth should be educated,

as in a nursery, for his new college at Oxford; and it is recorded that the building was carried on with such expedition, and gave so much satisfaction, that it met with great encouragement, not only from the corporation of Ipswich, but from the gentlemen round the country.

The first dean appointed by Wolsey was William Capon, who exerted himself much towards the finishing of the work, so that many apartments were ready before the end of the year; for which Mr. Thomas Cromwell took down several rich pieces of furniture, also copes, vestments, and other sacerdotal clothing. There is extant a letter from this dean to Wolsey, in the Cottonian collection, which throws some light upon the monkish manners of the time; wherein he tells him that upon our Lady's even he with all the company of the college sung the even song in the college church, and then repaired "to our Lady's, and there sung even song as solemnly and devoutly as we could," which was done in the company of several gentlemen and ecclesiastics, together with the bailiffs of the town, and the portman, and the prior of Christ-church, "all the which accompanied us that same night home again to your Grace's college, with as loving and kind a manner as I have seen; and at their coming thither, they drank with me both wine and beer, and so that night departed." On the following day, after the due ceremonials in the

College church, at which a large number of the gentry attended, a convivial dinner was given to the party—"all the which were there, with what good will and diligence they could, to do your Grace honour that day; and they all took repast at dinner at your Grace's college, and, as I trust, well entertained with good fare and such fashion as we could devise, wherewith they were right well contented and pleased, as I supposed."

After various details about college vestments, he adds—"furthermore there have been sent unto your Grace's college, against the nativity of our Lady, nine bucks, which bucks were spent on our said Lady-day, in your Grace's college and in the town of Ipswich; whereof one buck was delivered to the chamberlains of the town, for the 24 head men of the said town, and in money ten shillings to make merry withal; and in like manner to the bailiffs' wives and portmen's wives to make merry with, a buck and ten shillings!"

These jovial doings could not fail to make the college popular, and accordingly we find that in the ensuing August a letter or memorial was transmitted from the Corporation of Ipswich to Wolsey, in which they bestow on him their heartiest thanks for its foundation, as tending much to the increase of learning, and to the virtuous bringing up of young children, so that the people, "as well children as our aged folks, do greatly rejoice at the same."

This college, though it did not long exist, certainly changed the mode of education for the better; for, till then, boys were brought up in monasteries; and the great interest which Wolsey took in it may be inferred from his not only drawing up a grammar for the use of the pupils, printed after his death in 1534, but also rules for its management, with a short explanatory preface.

The site of the college is stated to have contained, by estimation, six acres; but it seems that it was soon demolished after its grant to a layman, Thomas Alverde, in the 23d of Henry. In fact, no part of it was left standing except one gate, which still remained when Kirby wrote.

He says that the very foundation was dug up, insomuch that the first stone was not long since (1764) found in two pieces, worked into a common wall in Woulform's lane, with a Latin inscription to this effect—

"In the year of Christ 1528, and the twentieth of the reign of Henry VIII., king of England, on the 15th of June, laid by John, Bishop of Lincoln." It is now preserved in Christ church college, as a relic of the founder.

From these domestic improvements the Cardinal was frequently called by state affairs, both home and foreign; especially, as marked by some chronologists for this year, in January, when the Duke of Bourbon marched from Milan towards Rome, which he invested, but fell; his army, however, forcing the pope to take shelter in the Castle of St. Angelo, and finally to surrender himself a prisoner in the May following: but in the mean time, at home, the public feeling was now beginning to show itself very manifestly in opposition to Wolsey; of which one remarkable instance took place, early in 1527, when placards were stuck up in several parts of the city, warning him that he should not advise the king to marry the princess Mary to a French prince; for, if he did, he should thereby be considered as showing himself an enemy both to the king and to the commonwealth. These placards also contained some very heavy threats; so that when the Lord Mayor,

Sir Thomas Seymour, informed him of the fact, he was much enraged, and ordered the most diligent search to be made after the author of them: but it was in vain; he was not to be found.

It is evident that these threats made a great impression upon him; for, on the night of the 30th of April, or May even, he directed watch to be set at York place, where he also had "cart gonnes ready charged:" similar watches were set all round the metropolis, at Newington, St. John Street, Westminster, in St. Giles', Islington, and various other places, "which watches were kept by gentlemen and their servants, with householders, and all for feare of ye Londoners bicause of this bil." When the citizens heard of these precautions, they expressed their surprise that he should feel such hatred towards them: for they said that if he mistrusted them, he loved not them; and where love is not there is hatred: they declared also, that they never intended any harm against him, but still they disapproved of his precautions, upon the plea that if five or six disorderly persons had caused any disturbance or alarm in the city, then all these watches would have marched in, and much damage, nay even plunder and robbery, might have ensued. These considerations appear to have made a strong impression upon the citizens in general, "wherefore they murmured much against the Cardinall, and his undiscrete doinges."

To an ordinary mind these circumstances might have afforded considerable cause of alarm; indeed, as it is urged by various intelligent writers, even the temporary fall of the popedom might have been regarded by Wolsey as a lesson to himself; but he seems not so to have considered it, notwithstanding the very plain speaking of the people upon the subject. It was on Sunday, the 2d of June, that authentic intelligence first arrived to the king at Windsor of the capture and sacking of the Holy City, and the affair is said to have been lamented by Henry, and by many prelates: "but the comminaltie lyttle mourned for it, and said that the pope was a ruffyan, and was not mete for the roume; wherfore they sayde that he began the myschief, and so he was well served:" notwithstanding, as early as the 18th, the king gave a commission to the Cardinal to treat for the pope's restoration to liberty. Wolsey, however, was anxious to have this insult to the church considered in another and more serious point of view; and accordingly he called a meeting of the prelates and principal clergy, where he not only expressed his sorrow for the fall of the pope, but also for the impression which seemed already to be made on the minds of the people against the clergy, for their great pomp, pride, and indecent manner of life: on the close of the meeting he waited upon the king, and is said thus to have addressed him:

"Sir, by the only calling of God, you be made

defender of the Christian faith; now consider in what state the church of Christ standeth; see how the head of the church of Rome is in captivity; see how the holy fathers be brought into thraldom, and be without comfort; now show yourself an aid, a defender of the Church, and God shall reward you!"

To this Henry is stated to have replied:—"My lord, I more lament this evil change than my tongue can tell; but where you say that I am defender of the faith, I assure you that this war between the emperor and the pope is not for the faith, but for temporal possessions and dominions: and now, sith Bishop Clement is taken by men of war, what should I do? my person, nor my people, cannot him rescue; but if my treasure may help him, take that which to you seemeth most convenient."

For this liberal offer, Wolsey returned thanks upon his knee; "and there uppon the Cardinall caused to be gathered together of the kyng's treasure XII score thousande pounde, which he carried over the sea with him, as you shal heare after."

But not content with putting his hand into the royal treasury, Wolsey sent orders to the bishops, to have solemn processions made in all the churches for the relief of his holiness; he also recommended all men to fast three days in the week. Few, however, fasted; for the priests said

their orders were to make the people fast, but not to fast themselves; and the laity insisted that the priests should be the first to fast, and to set an example, because the very cause of the fasting was for a priest. The consequence was that no fasting took place, and the pope was left to his fate!

It is worthy of remark, that Wolsey's foreign policy, when not affected by his own private interests, as in regard to France and the empire, was always directed towards the preservation of Christendom against the progress of the Turks, which, at that period, along with the incursions of other infidel powers, was an object of great alarm in Europe. Poland and Hungary were the two kingdoms most particularly threatened at this moment; and Sigismond, king of the former, on the 7th of May, wrote a highly flattering letter to the Cardinal on the subject; thanking him for the friendship which he had hitherto expressed towards that country; noticing the high credit in which he stood with the king, and with the whole nation; and congratulating himself, and the whole Christian interest, on the hopes which thence arose of future safety.

Sigismond further entreated his interest and influence, not only with Henry, but with the rest of the chief princes of Europe, for succour to Poland, in her then extreme distress; assuring him, that from those living north-east of him, evidently

intended for the Russians or Muscovites, he could have little hope, as they themselves actually vexed and afflicted the Christian religion even more than the Infidels; and he concluded with—"we heartily commend ourselves, and our subjects, who trade to the kingdom of England, to your reverend lordship, as our most particular friend, whom we are willing to gratify in every respect that we shall be capable of, and never to be wanting to you in any friendly office."

Indeed, the applications to England, at this period, for assistance against these barbarians were very numerous, and show the high political station which she had assumed in European concerns: yet, friendly as Henry was to the cause, it does not appear that any very active means were adopted by him in furtherance of these applications; for his contests with France had emptied the royal treasury, and he was now engaged by treaty with that country to commence a new war against his old ally and nephew, the emperor.

How anxious Henry was in this affair, is evident from the fact, that one of the articles was a complete renunciation, for himself and successors, of all right and title to the kingdom of France, and, in general, of whatever Francis then possessed; and it can scarcely be doubted that Wolsey was his warm adviser towards this policy, as Henry, of himself, was not likely to have made such a concession: but whether this policy on the part of

the Cardinal was a policy of principle, or the résult of bribery, as has been charged against him, is a fact now difficult to ascertain.

Another article was, that Francis, or his son, the Duke of Orleans, as they might choose, should marry the Princess Mary; but it was not much relished by the people, they fearing that if such a marriage should take place, she might, when on the throne, be too much under the influence of France. It is worth noticing too, that the French Bishop of Tarbe raised objections against this article, as had formerly been done by Spain, on account of the supposed illegitimacy of Mary; an objection which operated powerfully on the mind of Henry, in addition to his love for the Lady Anne; and to which, it is supposed, the bishop was urged by Wolsey himself, to be revenged on the emperor, for denying him the archbishopric of Toledo, and also in regard to the tiara.

Though the embassy of Wolsey, to hasten and conclude this treaty, was not determined on by the king and council until after long deliberation, yet Stowe says, that for what cause it was to take place no person knew, but the king, until his return: and the importance which Henry attached to it must have been considerable, as the Cardinal is stated to have taken over with him 300,000 crowns; partly to cover his own expenses, and for a *loan* to the French king, if that should be expedient. It is asserted by Guicciardini, as already

hinted, that the selection of Wolsey for this embassy was not so much from his own wish, as from a concerted plan on the part of his enemies, who had long borne him ill-will, and had been lying in wait for some opportunity to injure him: consequently, they were urgent for his undertaking the embassy; and to induce him the more readily to do so, they "alledged that it was more meete for his high wit, discretion, and authority, to bring so weighty a matter to passe, than any other within this realme." This, however, according to the Italian author already mentioned, was a mere pretence, as their object was, by any means, to remove him from the king's person, when they would have an opportunity of speaking their minds about him freely to his majesty, in whose estimation they hoped to lessen the favourite.

Nay, it is said by our English historians, that Henry himself was so anxious to escape for a time from Wolsey's vigilance, that he issued orders for immediate preparation, with which the Cardinal as instantly complied, and was soon ready to set out on his journey. On the day of his departure, he was attended by most of the peers and bishops that were not implicated in the plot against him, when he commenced his diplomatic tour with a grand procession from his new house in Westminster, passing through the city towards London Bridge.

First came a great number of gentlemen in velvet coats, and most of them with chains of gold round their necks; then all his own yeomen, accompanied by the servants of the nobility and of people high in office, all in orange-tawny coats: his device of a cardinal's hat, with T. C. embroidered, being not only upon the gentlemen's and servants' outer garments, but also upon his sumpter mules, upwards of twenty in number. His carriages and carts, and other parts of his train, next appeared in the procession; after whom came the Cardinal himself, in the most sumptuous sacerdotal dress, riding on a mule, with another spare mule, and also a spare horse, covered with trappings of crimson velvet, and having stirrups of solid gold. He was preceded, as usual, by the two priests with great silver crosses, by two pillars of silver, by the great seal of England, the Cardinal's hat, and a gentleman carrying his cloak-bag, of fine scarlet cloth, embroidered with gold; and, after him, came the remainder of his retinue.

Couriers, then called harbingers, had proceeded a day before, and he thus commenced his journey by short stages, sleeping the first night at the mansion of Sir Richard Wiltshire, not more than two miles beyond Deptford, in which town most of his train were lodged.

His second day's journey was to Rochester, where he occupied the bishop's palace; his third to Feversham, where he lodged in the abbey; and

at the close of the fourth day he arrived at Canterbury, where the archbishop received him with great hospitality and much apparent kindness. At Canterbury he made a stay of four or five days, on account of the great fair and jubilee, then held in honour of St. Thomas (Thomas à Becket), the patron of the see, on whose day there was a solemn procession, in which the Cardinal took a conspicuous part, being decked out in all his legantine ornaments, with the cardinal's hat upon his head. He appears to have taken this opportunity of again asserting his superiority over the see of Canterbury, having actually commanded the monks of the choir to pray for the pope, or rather to ask the Virgin Mary to do so, by introducing these words in the service, "Sancta Maria, ora pro Papa nostro Clementi!"

Whilst the service was going on, the Cardinal knelt upon a stool prepared for him before the entrance of the choir, doing penance with his knees upon carpets and cushions; but the monks and the choristers stood in the body of it. When the Litany was sung, the Cardinal was observed to weep; which those who were near him supposed, as Cavendish says, "to bee for griefe that the pope was in such calamity and danger from the lance knights."

It appears that a knowledge of the Cardinal's embassy had reached the Continent before him; for Cavendish, his gentleman-usher, having been

despatched the following day to Calais, where he arrived at night, he was received, "withoutt the Lanthorne-gate" by all the town council, who evidently expected that it might be Wolsey himself. To these gentlemen Cavendish delivered his letters and credentials; but it was not until two days after that Wolsey arrived early in the morning, when he was duly received in all pomp by the nobility and great officers, by the council and the mayor of the staple; and by the clergy, in rich copes, with many rich crosses, all forming one grand procession.

Beneath the "Lanthorne-gate" a stool was placed, with cushions and rich carpets, "where hee kneeled, and made his prayers; at which time they fenced him in with seizures of silver, and sprinkled water." This ceremony over, the procession preceded him into the town until they came to the church of St. Mary, which he entered, taking his station at the high altar, and giving from thence his benediction and *pardon* to the people. A great number of the nobility and gentry next accompanied him to an hotel, as it appears, called the *Chequer*, where he took up his abode, but was instantly obliged to go "immediately into his naked bed, because he was somewhat troubled with sicknesse, by reason of his passage by sea." Strange! that he who could rule Heaven so far as to give pardon in the gross to

all the people of a large town, should not be able to cure himself of a little sea-sickness!

He was able, however, to entertain a large party, both of French and English, that day at dinner; and all his suite and carriages being shortly afterwards got on shore, he prepared for his journey to the French court. Before setting out, he assembled his numerous suite in his privy-chamber, where he gave them a lecture on diplomatic etiquette, which, for its quaintness and characteristic feeling, we insert verbatim as recorded: —"I have called you hither to declare unto you, that I would have you both consider the duty you owe to me, and the good will I semblably beare to you for the same. Your intendment of service is to further the authority I have by commission from the king, which diligent observance of yours I will hereafter recommend to his majestie; as also to show you the nature of the Frenchmen, and withall to instruct you with [what] reverence you shall use me for the high honour of the king's majestie, and to inform you how you shall entertaine and accompany the Frenchmen, when you shall meet at any time.

"Concerning the first point, you shall understand, for divers weighty affairs of his grace's, and for meere advancement of his royal dignitie, hee hath assigned mee in this journey to bee his lieutenant; what reverence, therefore, belongeth to mee for the same I will show you.

"By virtue, therefore, of my commission and lieutenantship, I assume and take upon mee to bee esteemed in all honour and degrees of service, as unto his highness is meet and due; and that by mee nothing bee neglected, that to his state is due and appertinent, for my part you shall see that I will not omit one jot thereof. Therefore, one of your chiefe causes of your assembly, at this time, is to informe you that you bee not ignorant of your duty in this. I wish you, therefore, as you would have my favour, and also charge you all in the king's name, that you do not forget the same in time and place; but that every of you doe observe his duty to mee according as you will at your returne avoid the king's indignation, or deserve his highnesse' thanks; the which I will set forth at our return, as each of you shall deserve.

"Now, to the second point, the nature of the Frenchmen is such, that at their first meeting they will be as familiar with you, as if they had known you by long acquaintance, and will commune with you in their French tongue, as if they knew every word; therefore, use them in a kind manner, and bee as familiar with them as they are with you. If they speak to you in their naturall tongue, speake to them in English; for if you understand not them, no more shall they you."

This part of his speech seems, however, to have been more in good humoured jest than in sober

earnest; for "speaking merrily to one of the gentlemen, being a Welshman, *Rice* (quoth hee) speak thou Welsh to them, and doubt not but thy speech will be more difficult to them than their French shall bee to thee. Moreover, hee said unto them all, Let your entertainment and behaviour bee according to all gentlemen's in humility, that it may bee reported after our departure from thence, that you were gentlemen of very good behaviour and humility, that all men may know you understand your duties to your king and to your master. Thus shall you not only obtain to yourselves great commendations and praises, but also greatly advance your prince and country."

On the following day, being Mary Magdalen's, the Cardinal left Calais in the utmost pomp and magnificence; or, as Cavendish expresses it, "with such a number of black coats as hath beene seldom seene." He was accompanied by all the gentry of Calais and its vicinity, in black velvet coats, with chains of gold; and his own immediate establishment preceded him three abreast, extending three quarters of a mile in length; whilst he himself had the insignia of all his honours borne before him as usual, with the exception of the great seal of England, which he had left with the Master of the Rolls.

But the Cardinal here again found how deficient his powers were upon earth, whatever they might be in heaven; for, as Cavendish states,

"thus passing on his way, we had scarce gone a mile, but it began to raigne so vehemently, that I have not seen the like for the time, which endured untill we came to Bulloigne; and ere we came to *Standingfield*, the Cardinall of Lorraine, a goodly young gentleman, gave my lord a meeting, and received him with much joy and reverence, and so passed forth with my lord in communication untill wee came neere the said *Standingfield*, which is a religious place standing between the English, French, and Imperiall dominions, being a newter, holding of neither of them."

It is evident that the present embassy was not much approved of by the emperor, and a curious view of diplomatic security and of the law of nations, at this period, is given by Cavendish, who says, "then there we waited for my Lord Le Count Brian, Captaine of Picardy, with a great number of *Stradiates*, or *Arbonays*, standing in array in a great piece of greene oates, all in harnesse upon light horses, passing on with my lord in a wing into Bulloigne, and so after into Picardie, for my lord doubted that the emperor would lay some ambushment to betray him, for which cause he commanded them to attend my lord for the safety of his owne person, to conduct him from the danger of his enemies."

At Bulloigne he was received by the municipality and principal citizens, "having a learned man, that made an oration in Latine to him;" and

then by the military commandant, with a large retinue on horseback. This took place about a mile from the gates, when they proceeded into the town, the Cardinal being conducted to the abbey in state. There they presented to him a famous image, called "Our Lady of Bulloigne," to which great offerings were frequently made; after which he very kindly gave his blessing to the people, adding thereto, as a more special favour, several days of pardon, and retired to his apartments in the abbey *.

Proceeding next day to Montreuil, he was received by the inhabitants, all in similar livery; and here another Latin oration was made to him, which, as before, he answered in the same tongue. On entering the gate, he was honoured by a canopy of silk, on which were embroidered the same device and cypher as on the coats of his train: this was bestowed afterwards on his footmen, as a perquisite of their office. Various pageants were also got up in his honour; in all of which he was distinguished by the title of Le Cardinal Pacifique, or the peace-making Cardinal. Similar compliments awaited him at Abbeville, where he was lodged in a new-built royal man-

* Amongst the pageants, on this occasion, was one thus curiously described: "and at the gate was made a pageante, in the which was a nonne, called Holie Churche; and three Spaniardes and three Almaynes had her violated, and a Cardinal her reskued, and set her up of newe agayne!"

sion, that had already been honoured as the place of marriage of Louis, the late French king, and Mary, sister to Henry VIII.

At Abbeville he resided eight or nine days, passing his time in splendid entertainments with the French nobility; after which he was conducted to a place which Cavendish calls Le Channel Percequeine, close to which was an extensive sacerdotal college, seated on a great hill and rock, described as bearing a great resemblance to Windsor Castle. Here he was received in solemn procession, and first conducted to the church, afterwards to a castle, erected upon a bridge over the river Somme, already distinguished as the place of interview between our Edward IV. and the French king. This castle being only six miles from Amiens, whither the King of France was now proceeding, the Cardinal determined to make it his head-quarters; and as the occurrences at the first interview were rather curious, we shall give them in Cavendish's words.

He says, "My lord was no sooner seated in his lodging, but I heard that the French king would come that day to the city of Amience, which was not above six English miles from thence. And being desirous to see his coming thither, I tooke with mee two of my lord's gentlemen, and rode presently thither: and being but strangers, wee tooke up our lodging at the sign of the Angell,

directly over against the west door of the Cathedrall Church de Nostre Dame, where wee stayed in expectation of the king's coming. And about foure of the clocke came Madame Regent, the king's mother, riding in a very rich charriot; and with her was the Queene of Navarre, her daughter, attended with a hundred or more of ladies and gentlewomen following, every one riding upon a white palfrey, also her guard, which was no small number. And within two days after, the king came in with a great shot of gunners; and there was divers pageants made onely for joy of his comming, having about his person, and before him, a great number of noblemen and gentlemen in three companies: the first were of Swithers and Burgonians, with gunnes; the second were Frenchmen, with bowes; the third were le Carpe-fall Scottishmen, who were more comely persons then all the rest. The French guard and Scottish had all one livery, being apparalled with rich coates of white cloath, with a rich guard of silver bullione of a handfull broad. The king came riding on a rich jennet, and did alight at the said great church, and was conveyed with procession to the bishop's pallace, where hee was lodged. The next morning I rode again to *Picegueny*, to attend upon my lord; and when I came, my lord was ready to go on horsebacke to ride towards Amience; and passing on his way, hee was saluted by divers noble

personages making him orations in Latin, to whom my lord made answer ex tempore *. Then was word brought him that the king was ready to meete him, wherefore hee had no other shift, but to light at an old chappell that stoode hard by the high way, and there hee newly apparelled himself in rich array; and so mounted a new mule, verie richely trapped with a foote cloath of crimson velvet, purfled with gold, and fringed about the edges with a fringe of gold very costly, his stirrops of silver guild, the bosses of the same, and the cheekes of his mule's bit were all guilt with fine

* Amongst the various honours connected with this embassy, and conferred by Francis upon the Cardinal, one of the most remarkable is a grant by letters patent, in which he granted to him, that "he may, in all the cities and boroughs through which he shall pass, on his journey towards us, deliver all and every the prisoners then confined in those places; and to forgive, acquit, and pardon all matters, crimes, and delinquencies, committed and perpetrated by such prisoners, in the same manner and form as we do, and have been accustomed to do, at our first visiting cities and boroughs of our said kingdom;"—but he afterwards excepts "the crimes of high treason, murder, rape, sacrilege, coining, and burning houses."

As for the opinion which the people held, we may judge of it from the fact, that they actually got up a masque at Paris, in which the emperor danced with the pope and the King of France, until he wearied them, whilst the King of England sat quietly on a bench looking on; and when it was asked why he danced not, it was answered, that he sat there only to pay the minstrels their wages, "as who should say, we pay for all men's dancing!"

gold: and by the time that hee was mounted agayne after this gorgeous sorte, the kinge was come verie neere, within lesse than a quarter of an English mile, his guard standing in array upon the top of a high hill, expecting my lord's coming; to whom my lord made as much haste as conveniently hee could untill hee came within a paire of but's length, and there hee stayed. The king perceavinge this, havinge two worthie young gentlemen with him, the one called Monseur Vadamount, and the other Monseur de Guyes, half-brother to the Cardinall of Loraine, and to the Duke of Loraine, also beinge lyke apparalled, as the kinge was, in purple velvet lined with cloth of silver, the kinge caused Monseur Vadamount to issue from him, and to ride to my Lord Cardinall, to knowe the cause of his tarrieing. And this Monseur being mounted upon a faire greate genet, toke his road with his horse untill he came even to my lord, and then caused his horse to come aloft twice or thrice so neere my lord's mule, that he was in doubt of his horse, and so alighted, and in humble reverence did his message to my lord; and that donne he mounted againe, and made his horse to do the same at his departing, as before hee did at his comming; and so repaired unto the king. His answer being ended, the king advanced forwards, seeing my lord doe the like, and in the mid way they met, embracing eche the other with amiable countenance and entertain-

ment. Then drewe into the place all noblemen and gentlemen of both parties with wonderful—— made one to another as though they had been of old acquaintance. The presse was such and so thicke, that diverse had their leggs hurt with horses. Then the kinge's officers cried 'marche! marche! devaunt de devaunt,' and so the kinge and my Lorde Cardinall on his ryght hande, rode forthe towards Amiens, every English gentleman accompanied with another of France. The traine of these two princes was two miles in length, that is to say from the place of their meeting unto Amiens, where they were nobly received with gunnes and pageants, untill the king had brought my lord to his lodging, and then departed for that night.."

The King of France lay at the bishop's palace, where a visit of state was paid by the Cardinal next day after dinner, thus quaintly described,—"At which time the king kept his bed, yet nevertheless my Lord came into his bed-chamber, where on one side of the bed sat the king's mother, and on the other side the Cardinall of Loraine, accompanied with diverse other gentlemen of France, and after some communication and drinking of a cuppe of wyne with the king's mother, my Lord departed, and returned to his own lodginge accompanied with diverse gentlemen and noblemen, where they supped with him."

The king and Cardinal remained about a fort-

night at Amiens, where they "consulted and feasted each other diverse times." The intimacy was now so great, that they not only went to mass together, but also received the sacrament at the same altar; and upon the day of the Assumption, the Cardinal himself said mass before the Queen Regent and the Queen of Navarre, administering also to them the sacrament, after which the king, as an act of humility, dressed the sores of a number of sick persons.

It being now determined that the royal and diplomatic parties should remove to Compeigne, the distance upwards of twenty miles, Cavendish, the gentleman usher, was despatched to provide lodgings for the Cardinal, and on his journey he fell in with an adventure, which is so descriptive of the manners of the times that we shall give it in his own words. He says,—"In my travel, I having occasion to stay by the way at a little village to shoe my horse, there came to me a servant from the castle there, perceiving me to be an Englishman, and one of my Lord Legate's servants, (as they then called my Lord) desired me to go into the castle to the lord his master, whom he thought would be very glad to see me; to whom I consented, because I desired acquaintance with strangers, especially with men of authoritie and honourable rank. So I went with him who conducted me to the castle, and at my first entrance I was amongst the watchmen, who kept the first

ward, being very tall men and comely persons, who saluted me very kindly, and knowing the cause of my coming, they advertized their lord and master: and forthwith the lord of the castle came out unto mee, whose name was Monsieur Crookesly, a nobleman born; and at his coming hee embraced mee, saying that I was heartily welcome, and thanked me that was so gentle as to visit him and his castle, saying that hee was preparing to meet the king and my Lord Cardinall, and to invite them to his castle. When hee had shewed mee the strength of his castle, and the walls, which were fourteen foot broad, and I had seen all the houses, hee brought mee downe into a faire inner court where his jennet stoode ready for him, with twelve other of the fairest jennets that ever I saw, especially his owne, which was a mare; which jennet he told me hee had 400 crowns offered for her. Upon these twelve jennets were mounted twelve goodly gentlemen, called pages of honour; they rode all bareheaded in coats of cloath of gold, guarded with black velvet; and they had all of them boots of read Spanish leather.

"Then tooke hee his leave of mee, commanding his steward, and other of his gentlemen, to conduct me to his lady to dinner: so they led me up to the Gate-House, wher then their lady and mistris lay for the time that the king and Cardinall should tarry there. After a short time, the Lady Crookesley came out of her chamber into the

dyning roome, where I attended her comming, who did receive mee very nobly, like her selfe, shee having a traine of twelve gentlemen that did attend on her. Forasmuch, quoth she, as you are an English gentleman, whose custom is to kiss all ladies and gentlewomen in your country without offence, yet it is not so in this realm; notwithstanding, I will be so bold as to kisse you, and so shall you salute all my maides. After this wee went to dinner, being as nobly served as ever I saw any in England, passing all dinner time in pleasing discourses."

Proceeding to Compeigne, Mr. Cavendish took up his residence at an hotel opposite the market-place; and, having sat down to dinner in a front apartment, he was shortly disturbed with a great noise and the clash of arms. Looking out of the window, he saw the officers of the police leading a prisoner to execution in the market-place, where his head was speedily cut off with a sword, and then placed upon a pole between two stag's horns, for exhibition in the market-place, whilst his body was cut up in four quarters, and exposed in four different parts of the forest. His offence had been the killing of a red deer!

The principal apartments in the castle were speedily prepared for the reception of the king and Cardinal, and so equally apportioned between the two, that even the gallery was divided between them by means of a strong wall with a

window and door, where Wolsey and the king used to meet for conversation at the window, or sometimes pass through the door to each other. In other parts of the castle the Queen Regent was also lodged with all the ladies and gentlewomen of her suit.

Shortly afterwards, the Lord Chancellor of France arrived, himself a very witty man, and accompanied by all the king's grave counsellors; when great pains were bestowed upon daily conferences and consultations; at one of which a fracas took place between the Cardinal and chancellor, in which Wolsey displayed a true characteristic English spirit, declaring his conviction that the chancellor was intriguing to prevent the completion of the league of amity between the two countries, which had been determined on before his arrival at Compeigne, and threatening that if the French king should be led aside by the chancellor's policy, "hee should not faill shortly after his returne to feele the smart, what it was to maintaine warre against the King of England, and therof hee should be well assured; insomuch that his angry speech and bold countenance made them all doubt how to quiet him in council, who was then departed in great fury."

The spirit displayed by Wolsey on this occasion was perfectly efficacious; for, as Cavendish describes it,—"now here was sending, here was coming, here was intreating, and here was great

submission and intercession made unto him to reduce him to his former communication, who would in no ways relent until Madame Regent came to him herself, who handled the matter so well that she brought him to his former communication; and by that means hee brought all things to passe that before hee could not compasse, which was more out of feare than affection the French king had to the matter in hand; for now hee had got the heades of all the councell under his girdle."

That the Cardinal was fully in earnest in all this business is very clear from his proceedings on the day ensuing, when he rose about four o'clock, and sat down to write despatches to the king, ordering one of his chaplains to prepare for mass. But prayers and every thing else were forgotten in the exigence of the moment, Wolsey never rising even to take refreshment for twelve hours; after which, about four o'clock in the afternoon, he finished his letters which he sent off by an express, and then proceeded to go through all the usual business of a day, beginning first with mass and matins, then walking in the gardens for an hour or more, next to evening song, and then to dinner and supper, retiring to rest at an early hour.

On the ensuing evening a grand supper and entertainment were prepared by the Cardinal for the Queen Mother, the Queen of Navarre, and all the nobles and gentry of both sexes in their trains; and amongst those royal guests was one whose

case seems to have been a very hard one.—"Madam Lewis, one of the daughters of Lewis, the last king, whose sister lately dyed; these two sisters were of their mother inheritors of the duchie of Brittaine. And forasmuch as King Francis had married one of the sisters, by which he had one moytie of the said dutchie, hee kept the said Madam Lewis, the other sister, without marriage, to the intent the whole dutchie might descend to him or his successors after his death, for lacke of issue by her."

In the midst of this splendid display, the King of France and the King of Navarre came in unexpectedly, and with a commendable ease, and temporary laying aside of royal dignity, they took their places at the foot of the tables, where they seemed highly to enjoy all the good things before them, as well as the noisy and boisterous wit which was passing on all sides; they were also much pleased, as Cavendish states, "with the noyse of my lord's musique, who played there all that night so cunningly, that the two kings tooke great delight therein, insomuch, that the French king desired my lord to lend them unto him for the next night. And after the supper or banquet ended, the lords fell to dancing, amongst whom one Madam Fountaine had the praise."

Wolsey made no difficulty of granting the French king's request of the services of his musical band for the ensuing night; no doubt sup-

posing that it was preparatory to a similar fete: but Francis had another object in view, for "the next day the king tooke my lord's musicke, and rode to a nobleman's house, where was some living image to whom he had vowed a night's pilgrimage: and to performe his devotion when he came there, which was in the night, he danced and caused others to doe the same, and the next morning he returned."

Amongst other sports with which the king was anxious to entertain the Cardinal, was that of hunting the wild boar; a process very different from a fox-hunt in England; for a boar having been caught and then set loose in the forest previous to the day of meeting, the king set off accompanied by the Cardinal, and on their arrival at the appointed spot, they there found the Queen Regent with a number of ladies and damsels standing in chariots and looking at the toils which were all laid ready for his majesty's sport.

Wolsey, however, seems not to have been desirous of hunting the wild boar in *propria persona;* yet he placed himself in a situation even more dangerous, taking his stand in the Queen Regent's chariot, surrounded by all the bright eyes of the French court. But the ladies did not shrink from the manly sport of the field, several of them accompanying the king inside the toils, "ready furnished for the high and dangerous enterprize of hunting of this perilous wilde swine."

The king is described as dressed in a doublet and hose all of "sheepe's colour" (perhaps what is now called drab) cloth all richly trimmed; holding in a slip a brace of large greyhounds, armed so as to protect them from the tusks of the boar: and the rest of the hunters were clad, like him, in doublets and hose, and each having in his hand a very sharp boar's spear. His majesty now gave orders to the keepers to uncouch the boar, at the same time desiring that every person within the toils should take their proper station.

The boar was soon uncouched; and was no sooner out of his den, than a hound drove him into the middle of the toils, where he stopped a while gazing upon the hunters, but not seemingly inclined to show sport. But the hound now drawing near him, he looked for a place of refuge, and presently spied a bush upon a bank, beneath which were two Frenchmen, as Cavendish asserts, who not being very anxious to participate in the danger of the hunt had retired thither, supposing themselves perfectly safe. On the boar coming up, he smelt to the two Frenchmen, and then thrust his head into the bush, when they started up and ran for their lives, the boar very contentedly occupying their abdicated lair. From this, however, he was speedily driven by the spears of the hunters, when he rushed out and made an attack upon one of the Cardinal's footmen, who was armed with an English javelin, with which he

defended himself a considerable time, until it was broken by the boar, when he was forced to defend himself with his sword, when some of the hunters came up and drove off the animal, who immediately attacked the young Ratcliffe, son and heir to the then Lord Fitzwalter, afterwards Earl of Sussex, who defended himself with his boar's spear in a very gallant manner, soon after which the boar was killed, and the sport ended.

In a few days the messenger, despatched to the English court, returned with answers, when the Cardinal instantly prepared for his journey homewards; the last act of courtesy he conferred being that of consecrating the Chancellor of France a cardinal, which he did after mass in his closet, on the morning of his departure, investing him with the hat and cap of scarlet.

Immediately after the ceremony, Wolsey set off for Calais, where he stopped until all his travelling equipage was shipped, "and in the meene while," says Cavendish, "hee established a marte to bee there kept for all nations. But how long, or in what sort it continued, I know not; for I never heard of any great good it did, or of any assembly of merchants or traffique of merchandize that were brought thither for so great and mighty a matter, as was intended for the good of the town."

Whilst stopping at Calais, the Cardinal received information of the final issue of an affair that had produced some uneasiness. Cavendish declares

that there was no place where he was lodged, after he entered the territory of France, but that he was robbed in his privy chamber, sometimes of things of value, at others of mere trifles. At Compeigne he lost his standish, or inkstand, which was of solid silver gilt: but the theft being instantly noticed, the thief was taken, a little boy of not more than twelve or fourteen years of age, a ruffian's page of Paris, who had haunted Wolsey's apartments without any suspicion, until he was taken lying under the privy stairs, upon which occasion he was apprehended and examined, when he made a confession of all the things that he had stolen, which the ruffian his master had directed him to do. On this confession being made, the Cardinal gave information to the French council, in consequence of which the ruffian was taken up, and, after trial, condemned to stand in the pillory in the market-place.

On landing at Dover, the Cardinal was informed that the king, being then engaged in one of his progresses, was at the house of Sir Henry Wyatt in Kent: accordingly he set off post, expecting to be welcomed there with all due regard to his dignity and services, and to his royal master's friendship; but he was disappointed, for his reception was so cold, that even his followers instantly perceived it. Notwithstanding this, he remained two or three days about the court, during which he had several long conferences with the king;

after which he retired to his house at Westminster, living in complete privacy for a fortnight, until the opening of Michaelmas Term called him to the exercise of his office as Lord Chancellor.

It is a fact worthy of remark, and one that may have tended considerably to his subsequent disgrace at court, that Wolsey seems at this period to have made an appeal from the king to the people; for scarcely had the term commenced, when he called a public meeting to take place in the Star Chamber, consisting of a number of the nobility, all the judges, and such county magistrates and others, as were then at Westminster, on law business, from various parts of the kingdom; when he made a long speech, or declaration, to them, explanatory of his conduct, during his French embassy.

He assured them that he had concluded such a treaty of peace as had never been known before, between the two kingdoms, including also a treaty with the Emperor of Germany: which was further to be confirmed by a written treaty sealed by the imperial and royal seals, engraven on gold. This, as he further told them, was not only a treaty of perpetual peace, but stipulated also that the king should receive yearly, out of the duchy of Normandy (as tribute), a sum which should be finally equivalent to all the expenses incurred, and losses suffered by the recent wars. Another stipulation was in regard to the Duke of Suffolk, who had

married the Queen Dowager of France, Henry's sister, and who was not only to receive her dower in regular payments in future, but was also to be paid all arrears of dower that had been stopped during past hostilities. He added, that the treaty was to be confirmed and ratified by a splendid embassy from France, of noblemen and gentlemen of the highest rank; that the peace once concluded, then the two kingdoms were to be on such a friendly footing that there should be a free intercourse of merchandize as if the two countries were as one; that all persons might now travel through both countries, either for pleasure or business, without alarm or danger; and that all merchants might traffic without risk or molestation. He concluded by observing, that all these things were so beneficial to the country as to give pleasure to every patriotic Englishman; calling upon those whom he addressed to make them known in their respective counties, at the same time beseeching and requiring them, on the king's behalf, to show themselves loving and obedient subjects to his majesty in all things.

The proclamation for peace, consequent upon these proceedings, took place upon the 8th of September; after which the Cardinal recommenced, with double diligence apparently, his favourite work of the suppression of the monasteries; not, however, without public censure, for we are told that many of them were of good fame and boun-

tiful hospitality; but then it is added that—"wherein the king bearing with all his doings, neyther bishop nor temporal lord in this realme durste say any word to the contrarie. Now he manifested his pride upon further hope of future greatness."

The promised embassy was now every day expected. It was known to be formed on a most extensive scale, and consisted of eighty "of the noblest and most worthy gentlemen in all France;" and no sooner was their expected arrival announced, than all necessary measures were taken to receive them in the most splendid and hospitable manner. On their landing at Dover, and at all the principal towns in their way to the metropolis, they were treated with all possible honours; and on their arrival in town, they were conducted to the Bishop of London's palace in St. Paul's church-yard, which was allotted for their accommodation.

People of the first rank in the state crowded in to wait upon them, and to send them various presents, consisting of wines, sugar, oxen, sheep, poultry, game, and in short almost all things of necessary expenditure in housekeeping. The Lord Mayor, in particular, displayed great liberality upon this occasion.

At the period in question, Henry generally kept his court at Greenwich in preference to Westminster; and the first Sunday the ambassadors were

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in England was selected for a formal visit to Greenwich, where his Majesty received them very graciously, and treated them in the first style of courtly magnificence.

It is rather remarkable that there is no mention of Wolsey being at court on this occasion, although it was one of great state ceremony, for the king was invested, by the embassy, with the order of St. Michael of France, for which purpose they had brought over a collar of the finest gold, to which was pendant a highly embellished figure of the patron saint, and with these were the robes of the order, of blue velvet richly embroidered.

Henry seems to have been much pleased with this mark of royal courtesy; for he immediately requited it by a noble embassy carrying to Francis the order of the Garter.

No personal intercourse of the king and Cardinal, beyond the mere state conferences already noticed, seems as yet to have taken place, though Wolsey still took a leading part in politics; and having completed the diplomatic forms and treaties, he was appointed to celebrate a solemn mass in St. Paul's, when the king was to be present. The service appears to have been performed with great solemnity, for there were four-and-twenty mitres (bishops and abbots) assisting. Indeed, from some accounts, the ceremonies in honour of the Cardinal Legate appear to have been as numerous as those addressed to the Deity. Whilst the last Agnus was

singing, the king approached the high altar, where he knelt upon cushions and carpets, prepared for him, and was followed thither by the Great Master of France, the principal ambassador, and immediate personal representative of the French monarch. To them the Cardinal exhibited the holy sacrament, dividing the wafer between them, as a perfect oath and bond, says Cavendish, "for security of the said covenants of the said perpetual peace."

After the mass, Wolsey read the articles of peace, when the king put his hand to the gold seal, and completed his ratification with the sign manual, delivering the same to the Grand Master of France as his act and deed; the latter then gave the same ratification; after which the king and the ambassador rode to Wolsey's house at Whitehall, where they dined with him.

Politics, it appears, occupied those great personages during the remainder of the day; but, before the party broke up, it was determined that the ambassador and suite should proceed to Richmond, to take the amusement of hunting and field-sports, and from thence to Hampton Court for the same purpose, then to Windsor, and finally to rejoin the king at Greenwich, to partake of a grand fete previous to their departure.

The king then set off for Greenwich by water; and the Cardinal immediately issued the necessary orders to his household for the most sumptuous

entertainment of the embassy at Hampton-Court: for which purpose he called together all his principal officers and others of his establishment, giving it to them in command, "neither to spare for any cost or expence, nor paines to make them such a triumphant banquet as they might not only wonder at it here, but also make a glorious report to the great honour of our king and this realme."

We are then told that, "thus having made knowne his pleasure, to accomplish his commandment they sent out all the carriers, purveyors, and other persons, to my lord's friends to prepare; also they sent to all expert cooks, and cunning persons in the art of cookery in London, or elsewhere, that might be gotten to beautify the feast."

Provisions of all kinds were now sent in, in such quantities, that Cavendish declares it was a matter of wonder to see it; whilst the cooks wrought day and night in preparing "curious devices, where was no lacke of gold, silver, or any other costly thing." All the chambers were fitted up with costly hangings; and some idea of the general bustle may be formed from the fact, that the number of beds prepared amounted to two hundred and eighty.

It was intended that the grand banquet should be a supper; but on the day appointed, the French party arrived so early, and so much before the

expected time, that the superior officers of the household were obliged to take them to Hanworth, above three miles distant, on pretence of a hunting party, which occupied them until every thing was ready for their reception at Hampton-Court.

On their arrival they were led to their several chambers, where there were good fires, with plenty of wine, and there they remained until the supper was ready, the rooms appropriated to which were fitted up with all the magnificence of that time, being hung with rich cloth of arras, and all supplied with a sufficient number of tall yeomen to serve. Each chamber was set round with tables, "banquet wise covered," and in each was a cupboard "garnished with white plate:" in each was also a great fire of wood and coals, and for their illumination, "foure great plates to give the more light, set with great lights."

The principal chamber was the chamber of presence; and it was not only hung with the richest arras, but also furnished with a sumptuous cloth of state. In it were "many goodly gentlemen to serve." The tables were ranged round the apartment as in the others, but the high table was placed under the cloth of state, towards the middle of the chamber, "with six desks of plate garnished all over with fine gold, saving one paire of candlesticks of silver and guilt, with lights in the same; the cubberd was barred about that no man could come very neere it, for there

were divers peeces of great store of plate to use; besides, the plates that hung on the walls to give light were silver and guilt, with wax lights:"—not a very flattering specimen of the morals or honesty of the *good old times!*

As soon as all things were ready, the trumpets sounded to supper; then the company were conducted to their proper places, "and they being set," says Cavendish, "the service came up, in such aboundance, both costly and full of devises, with such a pleasant noise of musique, that the Frenchmen (as it seemed) were wrapt up in a heavenly paradise."

Hitherto Wolsey, evidently through design, as if all this splendour should pass for a mere ordinary occurrence, had not yet made his appearance; but the Frenchmen were very merry, and wise too we should think, notwithstanding, "with their rich fare, and curious cates and knackes." Just before the second course, the Lord Cardinal arrived in all haste, booted and spurred, entering without ceremony or announcement. On his appearance there was a general clamour of welcome, all rising from their seats; but Wolsey, even with humility of condescension, desired them "to sit still and keepe their places, and being in his riding apparell, called for his chaire, and sat him downe in the midst of the high table; and was there," says Cavendish, "as merry and pleasant as ever I saw him in my life."

He goes on to state that the second course was now served up, consisting of above one hundred various devices, so goodly and so costly that he thought the Frenchmen had never seen the like. But what he considers as the greatest curiosity of all the rest, at which the Frenchmen all wondered, and which was indeed worthy of wonder, were castles with images in, like St. Paul's church: then there were beasts, birds, and fowls, with human figures most excellently made, some fighting with swords, some with guns, and others with cross-bows,—ornaments not very emblematic, we should think, of that perpetual peace and tranquillity which had been so recently sworn to. Then there were other figures dancing with ladies; some on horseback in complete armour, justing with long and sharp spears; with many more strange devices, which even the accurate gentleman usher acknowledges he was incapable of describing. But amongst all that he noted there, was a chess-board made of "spice plate," with men of the same, and of good proportion; and because the Frenchmen had the credit of being very expert at that game, Wolsey directed that it should be given to one of the French gentlemen, ordering, at the same time, that a proper case should be made for its conveyance to France.

Wolsey now called for a great bowl of gold, filled with hypocras, and putting off his cap, said, "I drink a health to the king my soverayn lord,

and next unto the king your master;" and having drank a hearty draught, "he desired the grand master to pledge him a cup, which cup was worth five hundred markes; and so all the lords, in order, pledged these great princes."

Every thing like state ceremony seems, from henceforward, to have been laid aside, for the wine was now pushed about so briskly that many of the Frenchmen were obliged to be led off to their beds. In the midst of this merriment, Wolsey retired for a short time to his privy-chamber, where he took some slight refreshment, and then returned to the presence-chamber to those who were yet sober, where, by his affability and friendly familiarity, he won upon the esteem and affection of all around him.

But the night now waned, or rather the morning approached; and therefore, according to the hospitable custom of those days, "while they were in communication and pastime, all their livery were served to their chambers; every chamber had a bason and ewer of silver, and a great livery-pot with plenty of wine and sufficient of every thing."

In the morning the whole party heard mass, and stopped to dine with the Cardinal, after which they set off for Windsor, whilst he returned to London, it being the middle of term, and perhaps also to assist his majesty in the preparation of a scene of infinitely greater magnificence; the whole

affair having been previously planned with an affected cunning and secresy, to which Henry seems, at all times, to have been very partial. The king, in the mean time, had given orders to the proper officers to prepare a banquet on a much more magnificent scale than that at Hampton-Court; and, on the return of the members of the embassy from Windsor, his majesty invited them to Greenwich, where they dined, after which they danced, and engaged in various pastimes until supper or banquet time.

The banquet-chamber was in the little yard of the palace, as it then stood; and thither they were conducted by the greatest personages of the court; "but to describe," says Cavendish, "the variety of costly dishes, and the curious devises, my weak ability and shallow capacity would much ecclipse the magnificence thereof. But thus much take notice of, that although that banquet at Hampton-Court was marveilous sumptuous, yet this banquet excelled the same as much as gold doth silver in value."

In the midst of the banquet a grand tournament was exhibited at the barriers, by gentlemen of fine forms and athletic powers; some on foot, others on horseback; but all in complete armour of the most gorgeous kind. Next was there an interlude performed in Latin, by actors in superb fancy dresses; and this over, then "there came a great company of ladies and gentlewomen, the

chiefest beauties in the realme of England, being as richly attired as cost could make, or art devise, to set forth their gestures, proportions, or beauties, that they seemed to the beholders rather like celestiall angells than terrestriall creatures, with whom the gentlemen of France danced and masked, every man choosing his lady as his fancy served."

These ladies having at length retired, there came in another masque of ladies, most richly and fancifully attired. Each of those ladies took out a Frenchman to dance, and surprised them very much by speaking in their own language.

This scene of sport and grandeur began at five in the evening, and lasted until three o'clock in the morning, when "as neither health, wealth, nor pleasure can alwayes last, so ended this triumphant banquet, which being past, seemed in the morning to the beholders as a phantastique dream."

The embassy having taken leave at court, proceeded to Westminster to pay their farewell respects to the Cardinal, who received them with much pomp, and delivered to each what was then called "the king's reward." This is described by Cavendish, who says, that in the first place every man of honour and estimation had plate presented to him; some to the amount of two or three hundred pounds, and some even as high as four hundred. Then there were gowns of velvet with rich furs, rich chains of gold, and many fine horses of great value. The lowest gifts of all were not less

than twenty crowns; and the whole being distributed, the embassy took their leave of the Cardinal.

In the midst of all this courtly gaiety, a circumstance happened which tended much to inflame the popular prejudices against Wolsey—the anecdote has been variously related, and there is a disagreement amongst the narrators as to the period at which it took place; but there is sufficient reason to fix it at this date, whilst part of the embassy was lodged at the Bishop of London's, and the remainder at Merchant Tailors' Hall. It appears that one evening, as they were returning from supper at Blackfriars to their residence, two boys happened to be in a gutter casting down some rubbish which the rain had driven there. These boys, unawares as it was contended, threw some of the rubbish so that it hit a lacquey belonging to the Viscount of Tourain, though without doing him either hurt or damage; but the French lords took up the matter roundly, as a thing done in despite; and they sent word of it accordingly to Wolsey, who being rather too quick of belief, and disdaining all investigation, instantly sent for Sir Thomas Seymour, the Lord Mayor, and commanded him, upon his allegiance, to arrest the husband, wife, children, and servants of the house to which the boys belonged, and to send them to prison, until the king's pleasure should be declared; but the two boys, who were apprentices, were to be committed to the Tower.

This was strictly done, agreeable to the order, so that the family were kept in the Compter for the space of six weeks, the neighbours most kindly, in the mean time, taking care of the house and business; but one of the boys died in the Tower, and by some accident or ill usage the other was rendered nearly lame. It is stated, in the old Chronicle already so often quoted, that "of the crueltie of the Cardinall, and of the pride of the Frenchemen, muche people spake; and they would have been revenged on the Frenchemen, if wise men in the city had not appeased it with fair wordes."

No sooner were these scenes of courtly diplomacy at an end, than Wolsey became again very active against all who were suspected of being friendly to the rising reformation in the church, to which he was most powerfully stimulated by the public reproofs, which were frequent, not only against the excessive pomp, luxury, and insolence of the papal clergy, but also against the assumed, and often abused, authority of the see of Rome.

Two of the most active preachers on these subjects were Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur, who, in the month of October, 1527, were imprisoned by the Cardinal's order; and their examination, which was held on the 27th of November, in the Chapter-house at Westminster, took place in the presence of the Cardinal himself, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of

London, Rochester, Ely, Exeter, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, and St. Asaph, assisted by a numerous bench of divines and lawyers.

Wolsey, on this occasion, took on himself the office of examinator, asking Bilney whether it were true, as alleged against him, that he had taught the Lutheran doctrines to the people, in opposition to the determination of the pope: to which Bilney's reply was, that he had not to the best of his knowledge or belief taught such opinions, or any whatsoever contrary to the doctrines of the church. When Bilney was asked if he had not sworn never to preach such doctrines as Luther had broached, but to impugn them whenever uttered, or whenever occasion served, he admitted that he had done so, but he denied the lawfulness of that oath: he was, however, by the Cardinal's express order, now forced to take another oath, that he would answer plainly to the articles exhibited against him, and to the errors preached by him, without craft, qualifying, or leaving out any part of the truth.

Arthur was next examined, and subjected to the same course of proceeding, and particularly asked if he had not told Sir Thomas More that he disbelieved the doctrine of transubstantiation? Arthur denied this, but was not believed, though he was allowed till noon to reconsider the question, and to give in his answer in writing.

At noon, however, the ecclesiastical court being again solemnly assembled, Wolsey thought proper

to give up the management of further proceedings to a commission of bishops, on the plea that he himself was otherwise occupied about political affairs; he was also busily engaged in arranging the royal grants in favour of his new college, and which had been made out in the early part of the year, before his enemies had excited suspicions against him in Henry's breast. He was, indeed, very active in forwarding the erection of that splendid edifice; the hall of which was now in such a state of forwardness, that in the course of this year the niche and statue of the founder were

placed over the doorway leading to it: but other cares now began to press upon him.

We have already noticed, that in a preceding

year, Wolsey, as the king's chief councillor, had busied himself in the reformation of the royal household; and, in fact, that so did he interfere in every thing connected with the royal establishment, that it was commonly said of him, that whatever was done was done by him, and without his assent nothing was done. Whilst taking so much upon him, he is said to have made Henry believe that all things should be done to his honour, and that he himself needed not to trouble himself with investigation; so that to Wolsey was the charge of all things committed, "at the whiche wise menne becked, and light menne laughed, thynkyng great folly in his high presumption." Nor did the public animadversion stop here; for when Henry, after the yielding up of Hampton-Court *, had given him leave to lie at Richmond, such was the general feeling, that "when the common people, and in speciall suche as had been Kyng Henry the Seventh's servauntes, sawe the Cardinal kepe house in the manor royall of Richmond, whyche Kyng Henry the Seventh so highly estemed, it was a marvell to here howe thei grudged and saied, *see a bocher's dogge lye in the manor of Richemond:* these with many appro-

* There is much contradiction as to the year in which Hampton-Court was given up to the king; but, from a careful comparison of events, it could not have taken place until after the French embassy in this year, 1527.

brious wordes were spoken against the Cardinal, whose pride was so high that he nothing regarded, and yet was he hated of most men." In like manner, during the winter of this year, when there was a great mortality in the metropolis, and when the king kept his Christmas at Eltham, with a very small retinue, yet Wolsey resided at Richmond, "and ther kept open housholde to lordes, ladies, and all other that would come, with plaies and disguisyng in most royall maner; whiche sore greved the people, and in especial the kynges servauntes, to se hym kepe an open court, and the kyng a secret court."

To return, however, to the strict order of our narration, we may observe, that the loud complaints against the Cardinal towards the close of 1527, for his illegal conduct, in many instances, so alarmed him in respect to his favour with the king, that he found it absolutely necessary to propitiate the changeable monarch by a gift of the superb mansion of Hampton-Court, which Henry had already looked upon with the eyes of desire. He, therefore, wrote a long letter of humility and of sorrow for having offended him; but Henry forgave him, accepted the offered propitiation, and returned as long an answer under his own hand, concluding thus—"I ensure you (and I pray you think it so) that there remaineth at this hour no spark of displeasure towards you in my heart: and thus fare you well, and be no more perplext.

Written with the hand of your loving soverayn and friend. "HENRY R."

But still the people were not satisfied, even after his return to royal favour; many accusations were daily passing against him in public conversation: in particular, there was a very serious charge against him in regard to the manor of the More, in Hertfordshire, which however was, in a great measure, forgot, until brought up in judgment against his memory in the tenth year of Elizabeth, as more fully stated in Strype's Memorials, where it is said, that wishing to enlarge the park there, and to make other alterations, he unjustly seized and took away from one William Heydon, of Britwell, in that county, a messuage called Tolpotts, and one hundred and seventy acres of land belonging to it. Having expelled Heydon from possession, he enclosed one hundred and twenty-nine acres in the park, appropriated three acres for a highway from Rickmansworth to Watford, and the remainder he let out to various tenants. Heydon, on being put out of possession, went through the form of surrender to the lord of the manor, for the use of his own younger son Thomas; but this was of no avail, for the king seized it on the death of Wolsey, as part of the duchy of Lancaster; the same having been a grant to Wolsey in his days of royal favour.

But it was not by injuries done to subjects alone that popular feeling was excited; for his

treading so close as he did upon the heels of royalty was a great source of disgust and clamour. We have already noticed the public sentiments in regard to his conduct, especially at Richmond; but there was another point which produced equal dissatisfaction, in respect to the Tomb-house, now the royal mausoleum, adjoining to the chapel of St. George at Windsor, which was first built by Henry VII. as a place of sepulture for himself and queen, but given up for the superb and now venerably renovated chapel at Westminster Abbey. It had been from that period neglected; and Wolsey, certainly with a most unjustifiable degree of vanity, the place in question being within the precincts of a royal residence, obtained a grant of it from his generous, but often thoughtless, royal patron. His intention in procuring this grant was to fit up the building for his burial-place; for which purpose he commenced the erection of a most sumptuous monument in the centre, so rich in its proposed decorations, that years must have elapsed to finish it: but his disgrace prevented its completion, after which it was neglected, though not dismantled, until the civil wars of Charles and the Parliament, when it was completely despoiled of all its splendid ornaments *.

* It is a curious fact, that in 1718, George I. fitted up the hall at Hampton-Court as a theatre; and that after its being opened on the 23d of September with Hamlet, a second re-

This year also presents another extraordinary proof, not only of the insolence, but also of the cupidity of Wolsey, in his conduct towards his quondam protegé, Lord Percy, but now Earl of Northumberland by the recent demise of his father, the magnificent earl of that name. The young earl had not forgotten Wolsey's conduct in regard to the Lady Anne Boleyn; and Wolsey himself seems to have been impelled by some secret feeling of enmity; when, by an extraordinary stretch of power, to which the earl thought it prudent to submit, he demanded the choral books of the deceased lord for the use of his own chapel. There is a fragment of a letter on this subject still extant, where the earl says—

"I do perceayff my Lorde Cardinall's pleasour ys to have such boks as was in the chapele of my lat lord and ffayther (wos soll Jhu pardon). To the accomplychment of which, at your desyer, I am confformable, notwithstanding I trust to be able ons to set up a chapell off myne owne. I shall with all sped send up the boks unto my lord's grace, as to say iiij Antiffonars *, such as I think wher not seen a gret wyll—v Gralls—an Ordeorly—a Manuel—viij Prossessionus."

presentation took place on the 1st of October, when Shakespeare's Henry VIII. or the Fall of Wolsey, was performed on this very spot, which had been the scene of his greatest splendour!

* Antiphonars—Graduals—Ordinal—Processionals.

But though the highest English nobility were long forced to crouch at the nod of Wolsey, yet there was an Irish earl, who, even as a state prisoner, treated him as he deserved, and showed him that the dignity of man would not always bow before a haughty churchman, who set himself up, next to God, above all civil power. This was Gerald, Earl of Kildare, recently Lord Deputy of Ireland, and who, being accused of winking at the rebellious proceedings of Lord Desmond, was ordered to appear before the English council. He obeyed the summons; but instead of immediate investigation, he was obliged to dance attendance at court, and it was only with much difficulty that he could have his case brought to a hearing. It is recorded of this examination, that the members of the council were diversly affected towards him, but that "the Cardinall Lord Chancellor disliked his cause, comforted his accusers, and enforced the articles objected, and what else soever could be gathered thereof."

After opening the council, Wolsey addressed Kildare, "I wotte well, my lord, that I am not the meetest man at this boorde to charge you with these treasons, because it hath pleased some of your fellows to report that I am a professed enemy to all nobility, and namely to the Geraldines: but seeing every coarse boy can say as much when he is controlled, and seeing these points are so weighty, that they should not be

dissembled of us, and so apparent that they cannot be denied of you, I must have leave, notwithstanding your stale slander, to be the mouth of these honourable at this present, and to trump your treasons in your way, howsoever you take me."

He then stated the accusations against Desmond, and asked Kildare what letters, what messages, what threats had been sent to him, to induce him to apprehend Desmond, and yet it had not been done?

"Why so?" replied Kildare, "forsooth I could not catch him."

"Nay, nay! earl," rejoined Wolsey, "forsooth you would not watch him."

Then repeating the various excuses which Kildare had made in his despatches for the non arrest of Desmond, he added, "I wis, my lord, there be shrewd bugs in the borders for the Earl of Kildare to fear that earl, nay the King of Kildare, for when you are disposed you reign more like than rule in the land: where you are the malicious, the truest subjects stand for Irish enemies; where you are pleased, the Irish enemies stand for dutiful subjects! Hearts and hands, lives and lands, are all at your curtesy. Who fawneth not thereon, he cannot rest within your smell; and your smell is so rank, that you treat them at your pleasure!"

During this vituperative harangue, which had lasted for some time, and appeared likely to last

much longer, the earl had frequently chafed and changed colour, and manifested a prompt desire to answer every sentence as it was uttered; but he had restrained himself thus far, when at last he burst forth saying: "My Lord Chancellor, I beseech you, pardon me. I am short witted; and you, I perceive, intend a long tale. If you proceed in this order, half my purgation will be lost for lack of carriage. I have no school tricks, nor art of memory. Except you hear me while I remember your words, your second process will hammer out the former."

Stowe now tells us, that the lords associate, who for the most part tenderly loved Kildare, and knew the Cardinal's manner of taunts so loathsome, as wherewith they were tried many years before, humbly besought his grace to charge him directly with particulars, and to dwell on some one matter, until it were examined thoroughly. The Cardinal having acceded to this, Lord Kildare then said:

"It is good reason that your grace hear the mouth of this chamber, but, my lord, those mouths that put this tale into your mouth are very wide mouths; such as indeed have gaped long for my wreck, and now, for want of better stuff, are fain to fill their mouths with smoke!" He then proceeded with his own defence, during which he made a remark highly worthy of notice and attention at the present moment, saying: "Little know you, my lord, how necessary it is, not only

for the governor, but also for every nobleman in Ireland, to hamper his uncivil neighbours at discretion; wherein if they waited for process of law, and had not those lives and lands you speak of within their reach, they might hap to lose their own lives and lands without law. You hear of a case, as it were in a dream, and feel not the smart that vexeth us." He then drew a picture of the different states of England and Ireland; and, in allusion to the Cardinal's taunts about his power, he said, "As touching my kingdom, my lord, I would you and I had exchanged kingdoms but for one month, I would trust to gather up more crumbs in that space than twice the revenues of my poor earldom. But you are well and warm; and so hold you, and upbraid not me with such an odious farm. I sleep on a cabin, when you lie soft in your bed of down. I serve under the canopy of heaven, when you are served under a canopy. I drink water out of my scull" (hand), "when ye drink wine out of golden cups. My courser is trained to the field, when your gennet is taught to amble. When you are be-graced, and be-lorded, and crouched and kneeled unto, then find I small grace with our Irish borderers, except I cut them off by the knees."

When he had proceeded thus far, the Cardinal, we are told, perceived that Kildare was no babe, and rose from the council table in a great fume and fury, committing the earl, and postponing the

affair until further proofs, and more direct, could be received from Ireland. But the more important events of the royal divorce are now crowding on us, and we hasten to open a new section.

SECTION VIII.

1528—1530.

War with the Emperor—Wolsey's political Duplicity detected —Declines in the Royal Opinion—Commercial Regulations —Henry's first confidential Intercourse with Wolsey in regard to Anne Boleyn—Escape of the Pope, and his Bulls in respect to the proposed Divorce—Ecclesiastical Consultations at Home—Cardinal Campeius arrives—Temporizing Conduct of the Pope and Cardinals—Wolsey appointed Bishop of Winchester—Trial for Divorce, its Proceedings and Anecdotes—Unexpected Termination—Henry's Anger against Wolsey, and open Neglect of the latter—Rise of Cranmer—Wolsey's Decline generally known—Political Anecdotes of Anne Boleyn—Wolsey prosecuted for Crimes and Misdemeanors in the King's Bench —Is forced to resign the Seals—Ordered to retire to Esher—Impeached in Parliament, but it fails—His Property seized for the King—Specious Conduct of the King and Anne Boleyn towards him—Fidelity of Cromwell—Dismissal of his Household—Parliamentary Anecdotes—Prosecution under Premunire—Gives up York-House—Visited by the Duke of Norfolk, with Assurances of Royal Favour—Original Letters, &c.—Charges of Impeachment against Wolsey—Dangerous Illness, and courtly Favours—Retires to Richmond—Receives various Presents from the King, and sets off for his Archbishopric—Effects of his Downfall—Transactions and Anecdotes of his Journey—Residence at Cawood—Proposed Installation at York—Arrest as a State Prisoner—Journey towards London—Anecdotes—Illness—Arrives at Leicester Abbey—Death —Funeral—Ulterior Proceedings, &c. &c. &c.

During the latter part of 1527, and up to 1528, Wolsey was deeply engaged in political negotiations with Spain; and these of a nature, we fear, neither honourable to his loyalty, nor to his patriotism. The exact object of these diplomatic manœuvres it is difficult now to ascertain; for whilst the English public accused the Cardinal of bringing on the war with Spain, the pope was so impressed with the idea of Wolsey's friendship for the emperor, that he even made an offer, through the English envoy at Rome, that if the Cardinal should take a journey into Spain, he would accompany him, and that they should proceed in quality of two legates, acting conjointly as vested with equal powers.

We shall not attempt to reconcile these difficulties, but merely state the fact, that war was declared against Spain early in 1528. But this declaration of war against the emperor seems to have put the seal upon Wolsey's ruin, from a discovery that completely destroyed Henry's confidence in him.

Wolsey had not only told the people, but also assured the king, in order to induce him to declare war, that the emperor in Spain had imprisoned Dr. Lee, the English ambassador, also the French and Venetian ambassadors; for which insult nothing but war ought to be thought of. Yet it is a fact, that he well knew, at the same time, that Charles paid every attention to the English am-

bassador, and had never restrained his liberty in the slightest degree: but he had the hardihood to make retaliation upon the imperial ambassador in England, though for a short time only, laying the blame upon false intelligence from the French ambassadors. The whole of this was very crooked policy, especially as it was merely from private revenge; and this appeared when the French ambassadors were stated to have told the same story to the king. Another oversight was his saying that Clarencieux, the English herald, had made the defiance of the emperor without the king's orders. Nay, he went further; for he even excused himself to the imperial ambassador, by assuring him, that for this presumptuous act, Clarencieux should suffer death at Calais on his return from Spain.

The ambassador wrote all this to his master, and sent his letters by post into Spain; but, at Bayonne, the officer in command there, no doubt by a settled plan of the French king, had the letters opened and copied. When Clarencieux, in his return from Spain, passed through Bayonne, the officer there very kindly showed him the copy of the imperial ambassador's despatch; the contents of which could not fail to strike the herald with surprise: but as he trusted to his own fair conduct, and to the grace of his sovereign, he pushed on for England, and on his arrival at Boulogne heard the same story. Prudence na-

turally told him to be on his guard, and therefore, instead of proceeding by Calais, he hired a vessel at Boulogne, landed at Rye, and instantly proceeded to Hampton-Court, where he was introduced into the royal presence by Sir Nicholas Carew, before Wolsey had even got intelligence of his arrival. There he showed to the king three letters which the Cardinal had written to him, whilst at the Spanish court on other business, ordering him to make the defiance before the declaration of war: he also assured his majesty of the falsehood of the story about the ambassadors' imprisonment; showing, at the same time, a chain of gold, worth seven hundred ducats, which the emperor had given to him; and producing a copy of the despatches, which was given to him at Bayonne.

When Henry had heard all these circumstances clearly related, he sat for a long time in deep contemplation; and, at length, exclaimed: "Oh! Lord Jesu! he that I trusted most told me all these things contrary! Well, Clarencieux, I will be no more of light credence hereafter; for now I see perfectly that I am made to believe the thing that was never done."

To this we shall add one sentence from Hall, who says—"Then the kyng sent for the Cardinall, and privily talked with hym; but whatsoever he saied to him, the Cardinall was not very merry;

and, after that tyme, the kyng mystrusted hym ever after."

Wolsey was so affected by the evident falling off of the royal confidence, joined to his loss of popularity, that he began at length to try at a recovery of the latter, especially with the clothiers and other manufacturers, who were already great sufferers by this improvident war; for the merchants not exporting either into Spain or Germany as before, had all their recent purchases laying upon their hands; so that the clothiers from Kent, Essex, Wiltshire, and Suffolk, when they brought their cloths to Blackwell-hall, could find no purchasers.

The mode of proceeding by Wolsey, upon this occasion, gives such a curious picture of the times, that we cannot omit it. His first step, under sanction of the king and council, was to assemble the principal merchants of London, to whom he said—

"Sirs, the king is informed that you use not yourselves like merchants, but like graziers and artificers; for where the clothiers do daily bring cloth to your market for your ease to their great cost, and there be ready to sell them, you of your wilfulness will not buy them, as you have been accustomed to do: what manner of men be you? I tell you that the king strictly commandeth you to buy their cloths, as before time you have been

accustomed to do, upon pain of his high displeasure."

To this extraordinary mandate the merchants replied—

"My Lord, you know well that we have had no trade outward these twelve months past; and we have so many cloths on our hands, that we know not how to utter them: therefore it were great loss to us to buy any more. Wherefore we trust you will not move us to buy the thing which we cannot utter; for in all places our vent is stopped and forbidden."

"Well," said the Cardinal, "if you will not buy the cloths at Blackwell-hall, they shall be brought to the Whitehall at Westminster; and so you of London shall lose the liberty; and the king shall buy them all, and sell them to merchant strangers."

"Then," answered a wise merchant, "my Lord, the king may buy them as well at Blackwell-hall, if it please him, and the strangers will gladlier receive them there than at Westminster."

"You shall not order that matter," interrupted Wolsey, "and first I will send into London, to know what cloths you have in your hands; and that done, the king and his council shall appoint who shall buy the cloths, I warrant you,"—*and with this answer the Londoners departed!*

But it was not to the manufacturing part of the population alone that Wolsey wished to excuse himself as the promoter of hostilities; for he called

a large meeting of the higher orders in the star chamber, where he made a very long speech, disavowing all the charges made against him, yet expressing himself in a cautious jesuitical manner, that seems to have had very little effect upon his hearers.

Upon this a cotemporary annalist quaintly and briefly remarks that, " after Wolsey had made his speech in the star chamber, some knocked other on the elbow, and said softly, he lieth; other said that evil will never said well; other said that the French crowns made him speak ill of the emperor; but they that knew all that you have heard before, said that it was shame for him to lie in such an audience."

Whilst such was the popular sentiment, the falling Cardinal could find but little support from the people against the frowns of the court; yet he seems to have been possessed either of an independence or obstinacy of mind that bore him up amidst his troubles, though still leading him into a tortuous policy which certainly hastened his downfall. Perhaps he depended too much on his ecclesiastical power—but important events now rush on!

The king's affection for Anne Boleyne had long been known at court; but it was not until about the present period that it was spoken of openly, or that Henry conversed with Wolsey on the subject. A confidential disclosure, however, now took

place, but by no means to Wolsey's satisfaction, for he is said to have gone repeatedly on his knees to the king to dissuade him from it, but in vain. Finding, at length, that the matter was likely to take a serious turn, Wolsey felt that it was by no means safe for him to risk the responsibility of such an affair; accordingly he requested his majesty's leave to take the opinion of the most learned men in the kingdom, ecclesiastical, legal, and civilian; and his request being granted, he, by virtue of his authority as papal legate, summoned all the bishops and the most learned from the universities to meet at Westminster, for the purpose of consultation.

The meeting took place; but after long and repeated debates, it unanimously agreed that the case was too difficult to be decided on: yet it was thought expedient to have further investigation, by sending commissioners to all the universities both at home and abroad, thus to have the case argued substantially, as to the legality of divorce, which was accordingly done, at the king's expense, high bribes being given, which in a short time produced a wonderful unanimity amongst the learned, all over Europe.

In December of the preceding year, the pope had escaped from his captors to Orvieto, where he held his court in poverty and privacy; and there he was met by the English envoys despatched by Henry in regard to his scruples, to

whom he granted a commission for proceeding to divorce through the forms of a trial; but soon after Stephen Gardiner and Fox were sent to Orvieto with the draft of a new commission to fill up on the same subject.

In March the negotiations appeared to take a decisive turn, and in April a bull was issued by Pope Clement, ordering further steps to be taken; followed up by another in June, dated from Viterbo, and in which Wolsey and Campeius were jointly charged with a decretal of dissolution of marriage: the latter, however, was to be brought over by Campeius himself, for the final arrangement of the affair.

The English envoys experienced great difficulties in bringing the affair thus far; for the pope felt great dread of the emperor, and was fearful of offending him by authorising the intended insult to his aunt: but these were got over by the spirit of the embassy, which consisted of Stephen Gardiner, under the feigned name of Mr. Stevyns, Sir Gregory de Cassalis, Sir Francis Brian, and Mr. Peter Vannes. They seem to have been engaged in a very tortuous diplomacy; but at this period both the king and Wolsey appeared disposed to act with more spirit towards the Roman pontiff and his court: for we find in the Harleian Collection (No. 296. 16.) a letter, or despatch, from Wolsey himself, in which he expressly informs the embassy that since the pope appears

to depend so absolutely upon the emperor, that he dare not to do any thing which would displease him, and that in the weighty case of the divorce he has even declared himself a party; so the king, being at length convinced that no arrangements can be made with him, will, himself, proceed to the decision at home, by virtue of the commission already granted to him (Wolsey) and to the Cardinal Campeius.

For this purpose he therefore sent an order of recal to both Gardiner and Sir Francis Brian; the king proposing that the former should draw up the process, and assist in all other points connected with the trial. At the same time, he directed them to apply to the pope for an enlargement of the former commission to the two cardinals. But his highest refinement of crooked policy was to get a new "pollicitation," which, if well managed, he observes may be as useful to the king as the commission decretal; and the mode he proposed for doing this was that Gardiner should pretend that the former, which was now found to be too much limited, had got wet on the way to England, and was thereby become illegible. He then directs Gardiner, in the drawing up of a new one, that he should slip in, furtively, such words and expressions as might be most to the king's advantage.

Perhaps Wolsey thought forgery was fair, and was in this case only what is familiarly called

"tit for tat;" for it appears that there was strong reason to believe that a brief, very material in the cause, and recently sent from Rome to England as official, as relating to Henry's marriage with Katharine, was in fact a trick of the adverse party in the conclave. The ground of suspicion was, that at the court of Rome they had two different modes of dating briefs and bulls; beginning the year for briefs at the nativity, but for bulls at the incarnation: but this brief was dated "A. D. 1503, Pontificatus Julii, anno primo," and thus, by the year, was actually dated before Julius had ascended the papal chair. Wolsey therefore desired the embassy to inquire particularly whether the year, as to briefs, was reckoned from Christmas, or from New-year's day?

To the part of the embassy still left at Rome, he gave special directions, that they "must have a vigilant ie specyallie regardinge and harkeninge to provyde, stoppe, and lette, that no advocation of the cause, revocation of the two legates' commission, inhibycion, recusation, appellation, or other acte, whiche maye in anie thynge empeach, disturbe, protracte, or delaye the kinge's cause, be at the courte of Rome admitted, passed, or consented, att any th' emperor's, the queene's, or theire agent's requisitions, porsute, or instance made or to be made there."

But to return to affairs at home; we ought to record here that when the opinions of the various

universities were received, the active part of the business being still thrown upon Wolsey, he summoned another meeting of the bishops, and having shown them the documents collected by the commissioners, a long consultation was again entered into. It is evident that the bishops were afraid to declare against Henry, at the same time that they were unwilling to risk the danger that would result to papacy by his probable marriage with Anne Boleyne, who was then well known to be of the Reformed church, as were all her friends and connexions: accordingly they resolved to steer a middle course, for the purpose of at least gaining time, and perhaps hoping that by these delays and the fervour of Henry's passion for the fair Anne, circumstances might arise which would render marriage unnecessary on the one hand, and of course render divorce unwished for on the other.

The plan offered, therefore, was to recommend that the king should send to the pope all the opinions of the various home and foreign universities thus officially declared; to which was to be added an instrument containing the opinions of the bench of bishops.

The plan was adopted, and ambassadors appointed, who were instructed that if the pope should decline to give definitive judgment, then they were to request that a commission should be granted to the Cardinal Legate, and to Cardinal Campeius, Bishop of Bath, to hold an ecclesiastical

court in England, for the purpose of a final adjudication. Henry's reason for choosing Campeius is pretty evident, as he might hope to have some hold upon his gratitude, having given to him the bishopric of Bath, when here some years before on an embassy from the pope.

The pope did refuse, or decline a final judgment; but he agreed to the appointment of a court of adjudication, as had been requested.

Every thing was now at a stand, waiting for Campeius; and at length, in October, after much anxious expectation, the legate from Rome arrived, but being then a martyr to the gout, his journey even from Dover to London was long and tedious. It was intended to have received him with great pomp and solemnity at Blackheath: but Campeius refused what he termed vain glory, and therefore came privately by water to his house in Bath Place, outside of Temple-bar, where every thing was fitted up for him in the best order at the expense of Wolsey. Consultations between the two Cardinals immediately took place, when it was resolved to proceed with the business in hand without delay; it being proposed that the king and queen should be lodged in the palace of Bridewell, and that the court should be held in the Black-friars' monastery, then standing on the east side of Fleet-ditch.

That Campeius had private instructions from the pope, very different from his ostensible ones,

is evident from the fact that he actually had in his pocket the bull decretal, already mentioned, to annul Henry's marriage with Katharine, and to permit him to marry any other woman; but when asked by the wily Cardinal to leave this in his hands for a few days, to be shown to the king's most confidential counsellors, the more wily legate refused to part with it for a moment, nor could he be persuaded to show it to any one but to Wolsey.

The Cardinal, in the midst of all this political confusion, went on steadily with his pursuits in favour of learning; and it appears that in the very last year of his prosperity, the expense incurred in the erection of Christ Church College amounted to £7835.. 7.. 2.—an immense sum in those days! At this time the great hall and three sides of the quadrangle were nearly finished; and on the fourth side it was his intention to build a church, the walls of which had risen some feet above the ground, when his fall, now rapidly approaching, put an end to his generous and patriotic exertions in the cause of science and of popular education.

Wolsey's old friend, Bishop Fox, had now been in a state of blindness for five years, yet he appeared in 1529, or late in 1528, in his place in parliament, but for the last time. So infirm, indeed, was he become, that Wolsey had the audacity to endeavour to persuade him to resign the bishopric of Winchester in his favour, and to accept a

pension in lieu: but the old man steadily refused to agree to such arrangement, saying, that although, by reason of his blindness, he was not able to distinguish white from black, yet he could still discern between true and false, right and wrong; and plainly enough saw, without eyes, the malice of that ungrateful man, which he did not see before. He added, that it behoved the Cardinal to take care not to be so blinded with ambition as not to foresee his own end; and that he needed not trouble himself with the bishopric of Winchester, but rather should mind the king's affairs.

But Fox lived not to see the speedy fulfilment of his own prophecy, for he died early in the year; when his bishopric was given to the Cardinal in commendam: and in February, 1529, we find a bull from the pope, addressed to the clergy of Winchester diocese, calling on them to pay due obedience to Wolsey as perpetual administrator of that see, and as father and pastor of their souls. On this occasion, however, he resigned the bishopric of Durham*, and gave up the temporalities, in custody to Cuthbert (Tonstall) Bishop of London, his former protegee.

It was by no means part of Wolsey's system to resign any of his church-preferments, unless obliged to it by the royal will; and he always de-

* Rymer, Fœd. xiv. 364.

fended himself, as to holding so many bishoprics in farm as it were, on a pretence that the incumbents of many of them were foreigners and residing abroad; but his enemies insinuated that the mitre was thus given to strangers merely to afford him a pretext for grasping at all the goods of the church.

On this occasion, however, the king saw good reason that he should give up Durham; for it is a very curious, but positive fact, that the profits and revenues of that Episcopal Palatinate were actually given up for one year to Anne Boleyn; who thus became the first *female* bishop of the English Roman Catholic Church!

The lady, having enjoyed it for a year, was content to give up the episcopal throne for the prospect of a more brilliant one; and Tonstall took full possession, being succeeded in the see of London by Stokesly, one of the most active of Wolsey's enemies—a man whom, not long before, he had openly rebuked in the Star-Chamber, committing him also a prisoner to the Fleet.

On the 11th of April, the Cardinal was installed by proxy in his new dignity, receiving at the same time a royal grant of the custody of the goods of the two preceding bishops of that see; but these, it is probable, he would have applied solely to his own purposes, for, even at Durham, which he had held so long, he had attempted no improvements,

with the exception of some repairs to the southern end of the Tyne-bridge.

By his elevation to Winchester, he got possession of Esher in Surry, where he immediately proceeded to gratify his taste for architecture by commencing repairs and rebuilding; but he had not time to carry these to any great extent, though Esher became his residence in the early period of his disgrace.

But Wolsey's hopes again looked to higher preferment; for at this period the pope was reported to be in a dangerous state: and such was still his influence with Henry, that the king sent orders to his embassy, that "matters may be brought to issue without sparing any cost, promise, or labour, agreeable to the inclinations or tastes of those persons you shall treat with!"

This trouble, however, the envoys were spared, for the pope recovered; and Wolsey was now called on by the impatient monarch to commence the necessary arrangements for the proposed divorce.

As soon as the trial, or rather investigation, was determined on, it was settled that the king and queen should reside, during its continuance, in the palace of Bridewell; and that in the monastery of Black-friars, on the opposite side of Fleet-ditch, a place should be fitted up for this occasion as a court for the two legates, "before whom,"

as Stowe observes, "the king and queene were ascited and summoned to appear, which was a strange sight, and the newest device that ever was read or heard of before in any region, story, or chronicle, a king and a queene to be constrained by process compellatory to appear in any court as common persons, within their own realm and dominion, to abide the judgments and decrees of their own subjects, being the royal diadem and prerogative thereof."

The mode and manner in which the court was fitted up are curious, and worthy of record. The large apartment selected for the purpose was arranged with tables and benches, in the usual form of a consistory in those days, with one seat raised higher than the rest for the ecclesiastical judges; and then, in the midst as it were of the judges, and also above them, was a cloth of state erected, with a chair royal, or throne, placed under it. This was for the king; on a level with whom, but at some distance, sat the queen; whilst at the feet of the judges were the secretaries and clerks necessary for the process. The principal secretary on this occasion was Dr. Stevens, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, and the apparitor was Cooke, or as he was generally called, Cooke of Winchester. Before the king and the judges, sat the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other bishops; whilst the counsel employed on both sides stood within the limits of the court.

Matters were so far settled, that on the 31st of May, the court first sat, on preparatory business; and of the same date is a license from Henry to Wolsey and Campeius for the due execution of letters in regard to the proceedings in this cause of matrimonial validity. The two Cardinals now proceeded with such rapidity, that on the 6th of June they issued their citation to the queen, to appear before them on the 18th; and so great was Henry's anxiety for Wolsey's comfort during the investigation, that to relieve him from chancery business, he granted a commission to John Taylor, Master of the Rolls, and to six other ecclesiastics, to hear causes for the chancellor.

To detail all the particulars of the trial belongs rather to general history than to the biography of the Cardinal; we shall therefore confine ourselves to a few illustrative anecdotes; amongst which, it may be especially noticed, that on the first day of the trial, after the queen left the court, Henry rose and addressed the audience, saying that she had been to him a true obedient wife, and as comfortable as he could wish or desire. He further declared that she had all the virtues and good qualities that belonged to a woman of her dignity, with all those too which might appear fitter for those of a meaner estate.

The Cardinal then said—"I humbly beseech your Highness to declare unto this audience whether I have been the first and chief mover of

this matter to your Highness or not; for I am much suspected of all men"—but the king stopped him short, at once, exclaiming, "My Lord Cardinal, you have rather advised me to the contrary than been any mover of the same."

This view of the affair is also taken by Shakespeare; and it is probably true that Wolsey did venture to dissuade Henry from the proceeding, when he saw it likely to place a *heretic* on the throne, instead of the Duchess of Alencon, as he at first intended to bring about: nor is it unlikely that he should afterwards write confidentially to the pope, to throw every obstacle in the way of these proceedings, whilst he himself endeavoured to throw all the blame of delay upon his coadjutor Campeius.

During the trial, great stress was laid by the king's counsel upon the previous full consummation of the first marriage between Katharine and prince Arthur. Much was urged, on this very delicate part of the question, by both sides; but some one having observed that it was a point of which no man knew the truth, "Yes," exclaimed the Bishop of Rochester, "I know the truth."—To whom Wolsey replied, "How can you know the truth more than any other person?"—"Yes, forsooth, my lord," rejoined the bishop, "I know that God is the truth itself, and never saith but truth, and he saith thus—*Quos Deus conjunxit, homo non separat*—and forasmuch as this mar-

riage was joined and made by God to a good intent, therefore I said I knew the truth, and that cannot break upon any wilful action, that which God hath made and constituted."

This was but bad logic for a bishop, for it went to beg the very case in point; and Wolsey instantly saw through its sophistry, replying—"So much do all faithful men know as well as you; therefore this reason is not sufficient in this case, for the king's counsel do allege many presumptions to prove that it was not lawful at the beginning. *Ergo* it was not ordained by God, for God doth nothing without a good end. Therefore it is not to be doubted, but if these presumptions be true, which they allege to be most true, then the conjunction neither was, nor could be of God. Therefore I say unto you, my lord of Rochester, you know not the truth, unless you can avoid these presumptions upon just reasons."

On one occasion, during the progress of this extraordinary trial, Henry sent for Wolsey to the palace at Bridewell. The Cardinal attended on him for about an hour in his privy-chamber, and then took leave, proceeding in his barge to Westminster. The subject of this conference remains unknown; but something of its tenor may be suspected from a circumstance which took place whilst Wolsey was on his route homewards. The Bishop of Carlisle, who was with him, observed that it was a very hot day.—"Yes," replied the

Cardinal, "if you had been as well chafed within this hour as I have been, you would say you were very hot!"

Wolsey retired to his bed as soon as he got home; but he had not lain there two hours, when Lord Wiltshire, father of Anne Boleyn, came to speak with him from the king, whom he ordered instantly to be brought to his bed-side. Lord Wiltshire informed him that it was the king's wish that himself and the Cardinal should instantly proceed to see the queen, then in her chamber at Bridewell, and that they should endeavour to persuade her, by all their powers of reasoning, that her wisest mode of proceeding would be to put the whole matter into the king's own hands, and that this would be much better for her honour than to stand the trial at law, and thereby be condemned, which would tend much to her dishonour and discredit.

Wolsey declared his readiness to obey his majesty's desire, and that he would make immediate preparation for the visit; but he observed to Lord Wiltshire, that he and other lords of the council had put fancies into the head of the king, whereby they would give much trouble to the realm, and at the least would have but small thanks either from God, or from the world. He made several other bold remarks, which had a very strong effect upon Lord Wiltshire, who was then kneeling by his bed-side, so as completely

to silence him when he was going greater lengths, and his lordship soon after departed.

The Cardinal immediately rose, ordered his barge, and proceeded to the residence of Campeius at Bath-house; from whence they went together to her majesty's apartments at Bridewell. The queen was then in her chamber of presence, and the cardinals sent in a message by the gentleman-usher in waiting, that they were come to request a conference with her majesty. Katharine, at the moment, was amusing herself at needle-work with her maids of honour, and with the utmost carelessness, having a skein of red silk about her neck, she proceeded to the apartment where the churchmen waited. They rose and walked towards her on her thus unexpected approach, when she addressed them saying, "Alack! my lords, I am sorry that you have attended on me so long. What is your pleasure with me?" To which Wolsey answered, "If it please your grace to go to your privy-chamber, we will show you the cause of our coming."—"My lord," replied the indignant Katharine, "if you have any thing to say to me, speak it openly before all these folk; for I fear nothing that you can say to me or against me; but am willing all the world should both see and hear it, and therefore speak your minds openly."

Wolsey then began to address her in Latin; but she interrupted him, saying, "Good, my lord,

speak to me in English; although I do understand some Latin." To which the Cardinal replied, "Forsooth, good madam, if it please your grace, we both come to know your mind, what you are disposed to do in this matter, and also to declare to you secretly our counsels and opinions, which we do for very zeal and obedience to your grace."

"My lords," said the queen, "I thank you for your good wills; but to make answer to your requests, I cannot so suddenly: for I was set amongst my maids at work, little thinking of any such matter wherein is requisite some deliberation, and a better head than mine to make answer; for I need counsel in this case, which concerns me so near, and friends here I have none, they are in Spain, in my own country. Also, my lords, I am a poor woman of too weak capacity to answer such noble persons of wisdom as you are, in so weighty a matter; and, therefore, I pray you be good to me, a woman destitute of friendship here in a foreign region, and your counsel I shall be glad to hear."

Having said this, Katharine took Wolsey by one hand, and Campeius by the other, and led them into her privy chamber. What transpired there is unknown, but they stopped for a considerable time, during which the queen's voice was frequently heard very loud; and then taking leave, the two cardinals proceeded to court, where they

made a report to Henry of what had passed at this extraordinary interview.

The proceedings of the Cardinal's court continued from day to day, until at length it was generally expected that a final judgment would speedily be given; but when the king's counsel at the bar, on the 30th July, moved for the same, Campeius, who hitherto had not taken any very prominent part in the affair, immediately replied, "I will not give judgment until I have related the whole proceedings to the pope, whose counsel and commandment I will, in this case, observe. The matter is too high for us to give hasty judgment, considering the persons and the doubtful occasions alleged, and also whose commissioners we are, by whose authority we sit. It is good reason, therefore, that we make our chief lord of counsel in the same, before we proceed to judgment definitive. I came not here to please for any favour, reward, or fear of any person alive; be he king or otherwise, I have no such respect to the person that I should offend my conscience. Besides," added he, "the party defendant will make no answer here, but doth rather appeal from us. I am an old man, both weak and sickly, and look every day for death; what shall it avail me to put my soul in danger of God's displeasure to my utter damnation, for the favour of any prince in this world? My being here is only to see justice ad-

ministered according to my conscience. Moreover, the defendant supposeth that we be not indifferent judges, considering the king's high dignity and authority within this realm: and we being both his subjects, she thinks we will not do her justice; and, therefore, to avoid all these ambiguities, I adjourn the court, for the time according, to the court of Rome, from whence our jurisdiction is derived. For if we should go further than our commission doth warrant us, it were but a folly and blameworthy, because then we shall be breakers of the orders from whom we have our authority derived."

From the whole tenor of this speech, in which Campeius took upon himself so much personally, it may be inferred either that Wolsey was disposed to gratify the king, which the other cardinal was resolved to thwart, or else that the two cardinals were of the same opinion; and that Wolsey merely made Campeius the organ of sentiments, which he was unwilling or afraid to make himself responsible for. That the latter conjecture is most likely, may be inferred from what now took place; for no sooner was the court dissolved at the close of Campeius's speech, than the Duke of Suffolk, by the king's order, stepped forward, with a haughty countenance, exclaiming—"It was never thus in England, until we had cardinals amongst us!" He added some other opprobrious words, and spoke with such vehemence and pas-

sion, that it was generally supposed he would proceed greater lengths: but Wolsey, perceiving his vehemence, coolly said—" Sir! of all men in this realm, you have least cause to dispraise cardinals; for if I, poor Cardinal, had not been, you should not at this present moment have had a head on your shoulders, wherewith to make such a brag in dispute of us, who wish you no harm, neither have given you such cause to be offended with us. I would have you think, my lord, I and my brother wish the king as much happiness, and the realm as much honour, wealth, and peace, as you, or any other subject, of what degree soever he be within this realm, and would as gladly accomplish his lawful desires. But now, my lord, I pray you show me what you would do in such a case as this, if you were one of the king's commissioners in a foreign region about some weighty matter, the consultation whereof was very doubtful to be decided; would you not advertize the king's majesty, ere you went through with the same? I doubt not but you would; and therefore abate your malice and spite, and consider we are commissioners for a time, and cannot by virtue of a commission proceed to judgment without the knowledge and consent of the head of the authority and licence obtained from him, who is the pope. Therefore do we neither more nor less than our commission allows us; and if any man is offended with us, he is an unwise man. Therefore

pacify yourself, my lord, and speak like a man of honour and wisdom, or hold your peace. Speak not reproachfully of your friends; you best know what friendship I have shown you. I never did reveal to any person till now, either to mine own praise, or your dishonour."

This speech, with its private allusions, had a considerable effect upon his grace of Suffolk; so much so, indeed, that he made no reply, but retired from the court in evident uneasiness, followed by the Duke of Norfolk, and all the nobility and gentry, who left the two cardinals in their chairs of state, staring at each other, and uncertain how far they had acted prudently.

But Wolsey had yet to contend against the king's anger on this business, which Henry took very little pains to conceal, either from the Cardinal, or from the court. Wolsey, indeed, endeavoured to excuse himself upon the principle, that his commission really gave him no authority to proceed to judgment without the knowledge of the pope, who reserved the same to himself.

This state of political enmity and uncertainty was, in some measure, checked by despatches from the pope, desiring the two cardinals to continue to take deliberation in the matter, until the papal council should be opened early in the ensuing September; but this did not suit the king's impatience, who instantly despatched to Rome his own secretary, Dr. Stephen Gardiner, afterwards

Bishop of Winchester, and so active in the subsequent reign of Mary against the Protestants.

The papal council professed to be granting a favour, in appointing an early day in September for the reopening of the court; and, indeed, it appears to have been rather in breach of their usual forms, for one reason that Campeius had previously urged for adjournment to the 1st of October was, that the courts of Rome were adjourned on the 30th of July, and did not reopen before October: but this had little weight with the angry monarch, who now kept no terms even with common propriety, recalling Anne Boleyn to the court, from which she had with modesty, yet perhaps with too much consciousness, retired during the progress of the trial. Her influence was now decidedly hostile to Wolsey; and we may justly say, that the consequences of this unexpected decision of the court were as rapidly felt by the falling favourite; for immediately on its breaking up, the king determined to set out on a progress, to divert his mind, but the Cardinal, who had formerly been his chief solace, was now left behind. Indeed, we find it expressly stated, that the cause being thus ordered to Rome, and the king's expectation balked, he at once threw his disappointment upon his old favourite, though to all appearance he was very sincere in the business, and prosecuted the divorce with all the heartiness and application imaginable. It is added, "Yet his

inclination was so strongly fixed upon Mrs. Bulleyn, that he could not help resenting the pope's collusion to the highest degree, though his wrath, like thunder, fell upon Cardinal Wolsey."

But on the very first night of his progress, an event happened fraught with destruction for Wolsey. That night the king lay at Waltham; and, for want of accommodation, there were several of his suite quartered at the houses of the neighbouring gentry, particularly Secretary Gardiner, and Dr. Fox, at the mansion of a Mr. Cressy. The famous Cranmer, afterwards archbishop and martyr, was then tutor to Mr. Cressy's sons; and that gentleman having highly recommended him to his guests, as a man of deep learning, they, when the conversation after supper turned on the divorce, requested that he would give his opinion. Cranmer, at first, modestly declined; but being pressed, replied that he saw no better way to extricate the king out of his difficulties, than to procure in writing the opinions of all the universities in Europe, and of the most eminent divines and civilians; that then the learned would judge Julius II.'s dispensation to be either sufficient or invalid: if the first, the king's conscience would have reason to be easy; if the second, the pope would never venture to pass sentence contrary to the opinion of all the learned and able men in Christendom.

Fox and Gardiner were so pleased with this opinion, that next morning they imparted it to

Henry, who was so struck with the ingenuity and force of the plan, that he swore Cranmer had got the right sow by the ear; and having sent for the tutor, he, on further investigation, felt such a sudden esteem for him, that Cranmer instantly received orders to accompany the court; and measures were speedily taken to follow his advice, without any deference to Wolsey's opinions. In the mean time, the pope was not idle; for he issued forth a brief of avocation of the cause from England to the consistorial court at Rome, threatening Henry with excommunication, if he should presume to form another union previous to the decision of that court.

This was, indeed, going a step further than prudence dictated; for though the brief, by express directions, was fixed upon the great church-doors at Bruges, Dunkirk, and Tournay, yet no person dared to fix it up even at Calais, much less to publish it, by any means, in England! not even Wolsey himself dared to act so decidedly, though he had certainly gone great lengths in manifesting his obedience to the papal see.

Soon after the adjournment of the Cardinals' court, the idea that Wolsey was losing his influence with the king became pretty general; so much so, that bets were laid by the courtiers, the king being then on progress, and at Grafton in Northamptonshire, that his majesty would not speak to him on the expected arrival of the two

cardinals, whose being sent for was rather a compliment to Cardinal Campeius, as a stranger, than to Wolsey, whose office seems merely to have been "to conduct the stranger thither."

This courtly visit was one which Campeius appears anxious to have avoided, being very pressing, at the moment, to be discharged from further attendance, and sent home to Rome. Nor is this surprising, when the fact is, that his majesty had already ordered the queen to be removed from the court to a private residence, and had taken the Lady Anne Boleyn as his companion in this annual progress.

The two cardinals, however, at last set off for Grafton; but, on their arrival there, were rather chagrined at their first reception; expecting, on their alighting, to be received by the great officers of the household in the usual manner, instead of which there was no person to pay them a compliment, until their arrival at the outward court, when, in compliment solely to Cardinal Campeius, some officers received him with staves in their hands, and conducted him to his appointed lodging, whither Wolsey went, out of compliment, to see him settled; but the astonishment of the latter was great indeed, when he found that for *him*, so recently the first man in the realm, neither lodgings nor chamber of any kind had been appointed.

On this he was allowed to chew the cud of re-

flection for some time; until at length Sir Henry Norris, then groom of the stole, unwilling to add bitterness to the feelings of a falling favourite, waited on him with the usual respect, made some kind of apology, that the house was so small, there was scarcely room in it for the king, so that to find apartments for the Cardinal was then impossible; but he made an offer of his own apartment to the Cardinal for present accommodation, which, with many thanks for his courtesy, the latter accepted.

As soon as his arrival was generally known about the court, several noblemen, still friendly towards him, came to give him welcome; and from their conversation he was enabled to ascertain the state of the king's mind then towards him, and of course to prepare himself for the approaching royal interview.

Wolsey had no sooner dressed himself for the royal presence, than he proceeded towards the chamber of audience, accompanied by Campeius, when the lords of the council, standing in their usual order in a row, gave them the customary courtly salute. Besides the lords of the council, there were many gentlemen assembled in the presence-chamber; some out of curiosity on the subject of the bets already mentioned, but most of them, probably, for the purpose of enjoying the mortification which Wolsey was expected to meet with. There was little delay or time for con-

jecture, for the king came hastily into the chamber, and took his station, standing under the cloth of state. On this Wolsey took his fellow-cardinal by the hand, led him towards the king, and knelt down to address his majesty. What he did say was spoken in so low a voice as not to be heard by the bystanders; but he put a good face on the matter, for his biographer says that, "his countenance was amiable,"—nor was what he said disagreeable to the king, for Henry instantly stooped down, raised him with both his hands, and then led him by one hand to the recess of a window, where a long conversation took place between them.

This unexpected favour seems to have made a great impression on the courtiers; for Cavendish observes that,—"then to have beheld the countenance of the lords and noblemen that had layd wagers, it would have made you smile, especially those that had layd their money that the king would not speake with him." In fact the king did speak to him, and pretty sharply too, and at last so loud, that part of the conversation could be distinguished, Henry at one time exclaiming,—"How can this be? Is not this your hand?"—and at the same time pulling out a letter from his own bosom, which he showed to Wolsey, as proof irrefragrable. But Wolsey was prepared for this; and, by a few words, spoken too low to be overheard, seems completely to have appeased the mon-

arch's choler, for Henry answered with—"Well! well! go to your dinner, and take my Lord Cardinal (Campeius) to bear you company; and after dinner I will speak further with you."

The court now broke up, the king retiring to Anne Boleyn's chamber, where he dined; whilst tables were laid for the cardinals and the lords of the council in the presence chamber, where they dined. During the repast the conversation seems to have been very free and unrestrained, even in presence of the attendants; and Wolsey, amongst other things, observed that the king would do well to send his bishops and chaplains home to their cures and benefices: an observation hastily and unthinkingly made, but, no doubt, prompted by the idea that the numerous clergy, then about the court, were tampered with, both in regard to the divorce and to the furtherance of the Reformation. Wolsey had no sooner spoken than he was answered by the Duke of Norfolk,—"Yea! marry! and so it were meete for you to do also."—"I would be very well content therewith," rejoined the Cardinal, "if it were the king's pleasure to licence me with his grace's leave to go to my cure at Winchester."—"Nay! nay!" replied the Duke of Norfolk, "to your benefice at York, where your greatest honour and charge is." Wolsey was well aware that a large party of the nobility were anxious to remove him further from the king than Winchester, and therefore wished him to reside at

his archbishopric; but that was an idea which appeared to him like banishment, so he merely answered—" Even as it shall please the king," and then changed the subject.

This must all have taken place during the time of dinner, and in public; for Cavendish states a curious fact that—" immediately after dinner they fell to councell, till the waiters had also dined."

The whole of this day's proceedings, for so far, were soon known about the court, but there was rather more secresy respecting Henry's dinner party; yet even of that it is known, " that Mistres Anne Bulloigne was offended, *as much as she durst*, that the king did so graciously entertaine my Lord Cardinal," the following conversation passing between her and his majesty.—" Sir, is it not a marvailous thing to see into what great debt and danger he hath brought you, with all your subjects?"

" How so?" was the monarch's hasty reply.—" Forsooth, there is not a man in all your whole realm of England, worth an hundred pounds, but he hath indebted you to him," thereby alluding to the loans which had been repeatedly raised: to which the king calmly replied, " Well! well! for that matter there was no blame in him; for I know the matter better than you or any one else."

But " Mistress Anne" was not satisfied with this rebuke, and she still pushed the subject, saying, " Nay! besides that, what exploits hath he

wrought in several parts and places of this realm, to your great slander and disgrace? There is never a nobleman, but if he had done half so much as Wolsey hath done, were well worthy to lose his head. Yea, if my Lord of Norfolk, my Lord of Suffolk, my father, or any other man, had done much less than he hath done, they should have lost their heads ere this."

If it is really true that Anne ventured to say all this, it is impossible, even making all allowances for his majesty's love, to account for the extreme mildness of his reply, which was merely this,—"Then I perceive you are none of my Lord Cardinal's friends." "Why, sir," rejoined the favourite, "I have no cause, nor any that love you! no more hath your Grace, if you did well consider his indirect and unlawful doings."

It is a curious picture of the manners of the time, that even whilst dining thus in private, yet the king and the maid of honour seem to have been quite exposed to the view of their domestics, and to have waited quietly for their dining, as before noticed in regard to the lords of the council in the presence chamber; for we are told that,—"by that time the waiters had dyned, and tooke up the table, and so for that time ended their communication."

The king now took leave of the lady, and returned to the chamber of presence, where he called for the Cardinal, and held a long discourse with

him in the recess of the great window. During this conference the voices of the speakers were so low, that not a word could be heard by the surrounding nobles; but it was evidently not then of an unfavourable nature, since Henry, at the close of their long conversation, took the Cardinal by the hand and led him into the privy chamber, where their confidential communication was prolonged until dark. This apparent reconciliation between the king and his quondam favourite is stated to have been a very unwelcome sight to the Cardinal's enemies, who depended much more upon the personal influence of Anne Boleyn with Henry than upon any projects which they could put in force against him. But their hopes were a little raised when they understood that, at a late and inconvenient hour, it was announced to the Cardinal's gentleman usher that there was no room for his master to lodge in the court; so that the usher was obliged to find him lodgings at the house of a Mr. Empston, at Easton, some miles distant, whither the Cardinal retired to supper by torch-light. Wolsey, however, did not leave the king until he had his majesty's orders to return in the morning, that he might renew their conversation.

This was an order which the Cardinal gladly obeyed; and that too with such impatience, that he was at Grafton early in the morning, before the king's usual hour of rising; but there he found the king ready to mount his horse for

an airing, accompanied by the Lady Anne. Wolsey was thunderstruck at this change in his expected reception, and at the king's manner of addressing him; for Henry told him plainly that he would not talk with him, but recommended him to consult with the lords of the council in his absence, at the same time "commanding him, my Lord, to depart with Cardinall Campaine (Campeius), who had already taken leave of the king."

Wolsey was soon aware that this was a manœuvre of the favourite, in order to draw the king away, for the purpose of preventing all further conversation: indeed the whole plan was well laid, for the ostensible object of persuading his majesty to that morning's ride was to view a piece of ground which he wished to make a park of, and which afterwards was made a royal enclosure, and named Harewell park; and here the Lady Anne had been careful to prepare a good dinner for his majesty, so that his return was prolonged until the departure of the two Cardinals, which took place after dinner, Campeius meaning to proceed direct for Rome.

It is a curious fact, that no sooner had Cardinal Campeius departed from the court than it was whispered to the king, that he had received large sums of money from Wolsey to be carried to Rome, whither it was asserted that the latter intended to proceed also. Henry was so enraged at this, that he instantly ordered proper persons to

be sent after Campeius, whom they overtook at Calais, instantly proceeding to make strict search amongst his baggage for the supposed treasures; but they found nothing, except the "king's reward," as it was called, a sum of money usually paid by the lord treasurer to accredited characters, when leaving the court.

These things naturally excited alarm in Wolsey's mind; but he remained quietly in town, as the Michaelmas term was approaching, and on the first day he went to Westminster-Hall, in his usual state, as lord high chancellor. But this was also his *last* day of legal eminence; for being informed that the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were to call on him upon the ensuing day, he staid at home to wait for them. It was not, however, until the day after that appointed, that those two noblemen went to York-house, where they declared to him the king's pleasure, that he should surrender up to them the great seal of England, and afterwards depart for Esher, where he was to reside until he should receive further commands from his majesty *.

* Wolsey, in the day of his greatness, as little thought of his future disgrace, as that he should be succeeded in his high seat of chancellor, on the 25th October, by More, a man whom he himself had been instrumental in bringing into the royal service, almost at the very moment previous to that disgrace; for it was only in the early part of 1529 that he had made his name popular in the city, when he was sent ambassador to

Humiliated as Wolsey felt himself on this occasion, yet he had courage to demand a sight of the royal commission, which authorised them in this proceeding; but the two dukes replied, that they were themselves sufficient commissioners, and had their authority by verbal orders from his majesty. To this, however, the Cardinal demurred, and finally declared that he would not obey the order thus delivered, without further proof of their authority. He said that the great seal was delivered to him by the king's own hand, for the due administration thereof, and that the chancellorship had been granted to him for life, for which he had the king's letters patent to produce; a defence which rather staggered the two noblemen in their purpose: but they again insisted upon the

France (having been twice before on diplomatic journeys with the Cardinal), when his attention to the mercantile interests of England, in the treaty between the emperor and the King of France, gave great satisfaction.

In a MS. in the Lambeth library, published by Dean Wordsworth, in his Ecclesiastical Biography, it is expressly stated, that "moreover this, King Henry was in hand with Cardinal Wolsey to procure him into his service. The Cardinal did not slack the matter, but dealt with him incontinently, and in very earnest manner to serve the king; saying it was meet and convenient, and it could not be but for his advancement to do so. Yet he was very loath to change his estate, and so wrought the Cardinal by his faire speeche, that by him the king was satisfied for that time. But his estimation and fame every day so increased, that after a while the king would by no manner of entreatie be induced to forbeare his service."

fulfilment of their order, saying many rude things to the Cardinal, which he took very patiently, yet still remained so true to his refusal, that the two dukes departed without succeeding in their commission.

There is some slight discrepancy amongst the different historians, as to the exact chronological progress of these events; but we believe the correct order to be, that previous to the delivery of the great seal, which took place on Sunday the 17th of October, the attorney-general had actually indicted him in the Court of King's Bench on the 9th of October, just as Wolsey himself was opening the Chancery court; and that on the principle, not exactly of a premunire, but on certain grave contempts, by the statute of provisors, for his acceptance of the office of legate, though he really had obtained the king's consent for so doing. The prosecution for premunire, we believe, took place subsequently.

To this charge it does not appear that he was permitted to plead personally, though he may have done so by his attornies *, whom he was authorised by letters patents to appoint in the Court of King's Bench; but it is evident, from the

* Rymer's Fœd. xiv. 348. There was also a grant for him to appoint attornies in Chancery, of the same date; in consequence of which he named John Scuse, and Christopher Jenny, Esqrs. learned in the laws.

various statements, that he was on that very day convicted, as we have stated, and also of certain grave contempts, and put out of the king's protection: a fact, however, which we have not seen satisfactorily explained, except as alluded to in a royal brief of the 18th of November.

It must have been some days after this conviction that the demand of the great seal (already stated) took place; after which interview the two noblemen returned to Windsor, where the court then was, to state the affair to his majesty, who was much incensed, and instantly directed the proper orders to be made out, with which they returned the next day to York-house; when Wolsey, not daring to disobey the king's written command, delivered up to them the great seal of England, which they carried back to Windsor.

He also felt the necessity of proceeding to Esher, as directed, and preparatory thereto "set his house in order," calling all his officers before him, and taking an account of all things which they had in charge. On this occasion, it is stated by Cavendish, that in the gallery were set various tables, on which were laid a great quantity of rich stuffs, consisting of whole pieces of silk of every colour, such as velvets, satins, "muskes," taffaties, grograms, scarlets, and various other rich commodities. Then there were one thousand pieces of fine Hollands, and the hangings of the gallery with cloth of gold, and cloth of silver, "and rich cloath

of bodkin of divers colours, which were hanged in expectation of the king's coming."

We are also told, that on one side of the gallery were hung the rich suits of copes of his own providing, of extreme brilliancy; intended for the colleges at Christ Church, Oxford, and at Ipswich: and adjoining to the gallery were two chambers, called the gilt chamber and the council chamber, in which were set two long tables, covered with plate to a great amount, great part of it being solid gold; and upon each table were laid books, containing lists of both the articles and their weight.

All this wealth he left in the hands of proper officers, together with every thing else of value in York-house, with orders that the whole should be carefully delivered up into the hands of his majesty; and he then prepared to set off for Esher by water.

During these hasty preparations, various reports were spread amongst his numerous household; and just as he was about to depart, his treasurer, Sir William Gascoigne, went up to him and said, "Sir, I am sorry for your grace, for I hear you are to go straight to the Tower!" to which the Cardinal replied—"Is this the best comfort you can give to your master in adversity? It hath always been your inclination to be light of credit, and much lighter in reporting of lies. I would you should know, Sir William, and all those re-

porters too, that it is untrue, for I never deserved to come there." He then added—"Although it hath pleased the king to take my house ready furnished for his pleasure, yet at this time I would have all the world to know that I have nothing but it is of right of him, and of him I have received all that I have. It is, therefore, convenient and reason to tender the same unto him again."

This certainly was putting as good a face upon the matter as he could; but the fact of his disgrace was already too well known to be stopped even by the Cardinal's ingenious and jesuitical subterfuge. In truth, so strong was the general report, and so pleased were the public with this expectation, that the river was covered with boats all filled with people, anxious to witness the wished-for sight.

When Wolsey set off on this expedition, it is worthy of remark, that he had but one cross borne before him; nay, he even openly said that he wished he had never borne more—alluding, evidently, to the legate's cross as the cause of his fall: and it was observed that when he entered his barge at his privy stairs, attended by his numerous train of gentlemen and yeomen, he was struck with the sight of the assemblage on the river, but silent on the subject to those around him, as he proceeded on his way by water to Putney*; and landing there,

* Esher had been, for many years, an episcopal mansion, having been bestowed by William the Conqueror on the abbey

mounted his mule in all decent episcopal proud humility, but taking his way to Esher in sorrow and sadness of heart. From this, indeed, he was soon relieved; for scarcely had he got as far as the foot of the hill, when a Mr. Norris, a gentleman of the royal bedchamber, brought him a message from Henry, importing that he was as much in the royal favour as ever. So elated was the Cardinal with this intelligence, that it is reported he instantly dismounted, and falling on his knees in the dirt, gave loud thanks to God, and to the king; when Mr. Norris, as a royal token, presented him with a signet ring from Henry, for which the Cardinal, as a token in answer, sent back a golden cross, in which a piece of the holy cross was said to be inclosed, and which he had hitherto worn round his own neck.

Anxious still further to regain and to retain his sovereign's good-will, it is said that he be-

of St. Leofrid, and sold, by one of the abbots, to Peter de Roches, or de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, in the thirteenth century; and, in 1284, it was fully granted and confirmed to that see by Edward I. There was, however, no episcopal mansion here until William of Wainfleet, between 1447 and 1486, built what was then called a stately brick house on the bank of the Mole, and Esher became the occasional residence of the bishops, devolving to Wolsey, as Bishop of Winchester, in 1528, or 1529, upon the demise of Fox, when he repaired the old house, and rebuilt some parts of it, intending to occupy it whenever Henry should be resident at Hampton-Court.

thought him still further of what would be most acceptable to his royal patron, when his choice fell upon his fool, Patch; but Patch was either too much of a fool, or too honest a man, to quit his old master in disgrace even to bask in the favours of a court—so unwilling was he indeed, that six of the tallest yeomen, in the Cardinal's retinue, could scarce conduct him to the king.

But here we may notice that this and all the rest of Henry's friendly messages are supposed to have been mere tricks to keep Wolsey in hopes of speedy restoration to royal favour; and consequently to prevent him from defending himself, either in the courts of law or parliament, or of public opinion, by producing the royal letters patent, authorizing him to act as he had done.

After the notification of the king's continued favour by Mr. Norris, Wolsey still judged it expedient to comply with the previous orders that he had received; he therefore proceeded to Esher, where he resided during the remainder of October, and great part of November; and so little hope had he of restoration to power, and to consequent wealth, or expecting, perhaps, that humility and poverty were his best cards to play, that in a short time after, he dismissed all his servants, as we shall presently detail more at large, with the exception of a few necessary menials.

It has been stated as an extraordinary instance of ingratitude, that amongst the whole of his

immense retinue, there was but one who had the virtue to remain with his master in his disgrace, upon generous disinterested principles, and that was Cromwell, then his chief steward, who refused to withdraw his services, and was accordingly despatched by the fallen favourite to London, to watch the proceedings of his enemies, in which Cromwell manifested the most indefatigable skill and abilities.

Whilst Cromwell was in town, the Cardinal remained in close retirement at Esher, where he received another favourable message, and another ring from his majesty. Yet a bill for high treason was brought against him in parliament, but defeated by the judicious management of Cromwell, as was likewise another bill for high crimes and misdemeanors, as shall be more fully noticed in its proper place.

That Wolsey must have been very uncomfortable during all these changes may naturally be expected; indeed, of his accommodation and of that of his suite, hurried as they had been into an unfurnished house, we cannot present a better picture than in the words of Cavendish—"thus continued my lord at Ashur, 3 or 4 weekes without either beds, sheets, table-cloths, or dishes to eat their meat on, or wherewith to buy any. But there was good store of all kind of victuals, and of beer and wine plenty; but afterwards my

lord borrowed some plate and dishes of the Bishop of Carlisle."

Wolsey remained, as we have stated, at Esher until the beginning of November; when one day whilst at dinner, Mr. Cromwell stood forward, apparently as spokesman for the household, and told the Cardinal that he ought in conscience to consider the true and good service which he and others of his servants had done towards him, never forsaking him in weale nor in woe. The Cardinal felt hurt at the claim, thus publicly made; but he calmly replied—"Alas! Tom, you know that I have nothing to give to you nor them; which makes me both sorry and ashamed that I have nothing to requite your faithful services."—To which Cromwell answered that the Cardinal had many chaplains who had been preferred by him to rich benefices; many worth £500 per annum, and some even equal to £1000; adding, that it were a shame for them not to come forward to assist him with funds, especially when it was considered that the poor servants who still attended upon him, though unpaid, did more duty in one day than any one of these chaplains had done in a year.

This remonstrance seems to have had considerable effect upon Wolsey; for he shortly afterwards directed that all the gentlemen and yeomen of the household should be assembled in the great cham-

ber, where they arranged themselves in order—the gentlemen on the right, and the yeomen on the left—when the Cardinal came out dressed in his rochet, upon a violet gown like a bishop, and attended by his chaplains, with whom he passed to the great window at the upper end of the chamber. He then turned round and looked attentively over the assembled household, but was unable to speak to them from his emotions, the tears actually running down his cheeks, which was met by an equal burst of grief on the part of his attendants. At length he addressed them, as detailed by Cavendish, in the following words:—"Most faithful gentlemen and true-hearted yeomen; I do not lament to see you about me, but I lament in manner and certainty on my behalf towards you all, in whom hath been great default, that in my prosperity I have not done so much for you as I might have done either in deed or words, which lay in my power then to do. But then I knew not the jewell and special treasure I had in mine house of you my faithful servants; but now experience hath taught me, and with the eyes of my discretion I do well perceive the same. There was never thing that repented me more that ever I did, than doth the remembrance of my great and most oblivious negligence and unkind ingratitude, that I have not promoted, preferred, or advanced you all according to your *demerits;* howbeit it is not unknown unto you all, that I

was not so fully furnished of temporal promotions, in my gift, as I was of spiritual preferments: and if I should have preferred you to any of the king's offices, then should I have wonne in the indignation of the king's servants, who would not much let to report behind my back that there could no office in the king's gift escape the Cardinal and his servants. And thus should I have won an open slander before all the world. But now it is come to this pass that it pleased the king to take all that I have into his hands, so that I have nothing to give you, for I have nothing left me but my bare clothes upon my back, the which are but simple in comparison to that I had; howbeit if it might do you any good I would not shrink to divide the same amongst you; yea! and the skin of my back too, if it might countervail any value among you.

"But my good gentlemen and yeomen, my trusty and faithful servants, and of whom no prince hath the like, I shall require you to take some patience with me awhile; for I doubt not but that the king, considering my suggested offence, by mine enemies put against me, to be of small grief or hurt for so great and sudden an overthrow, will shortly restore me to my living; so that I shall be more able to divide my substance among you; whereof ye shall not lacke, for whatsoever shall chance hereafter to be an overplus, and superfluity of my revenues at the

determination of my yearly accompt, it shall be distributed among you; for I will never, during my lyfe, esteem the goods and riches of this world, any otherwise than shall be sufficient to maintain the state that God hath and shall call me unto. And if the king do not so shortly restore me, then I will write for you, either to the king, or to any nobleman within this realm, to retain your service; for I doubt not but the king, or any nobleman of this realm, will credit my letter in your recommendation. Therefore, in the mean time, I would advise you to repair home to your wives, such as have wives, and some of you that have no wives, to take a time to visit your parents in the country. There is none of you all, but once in the year ye would require license to see and visit your wife and other of your friends. Take this time, therefore, in that respect, and on your return, I will not refuse you to beg with you. I consider that your service in my house hath been such, that ye be not apt to serve any man under the degree of a king; therefore I would advise you to serve no man but the king, who, I am sure, will not refuse you. Therefore I shall desire you to take your pleasure for a month, and then ye may come again; and by that time, I trust your king will extend his mercy upon me."

To this address, Cromwell, the secretary, answered, that there were several of the yeomen

that would be glad to see their friends, but they had no money; and therefore he considered that amongst the many chaplains present, who had received great benefices from his hands, there must be some who had the means, and who would not allow the Cardinal to lack ready money upon such an occasion: he also observed, that although he, himself, had not yet received from Wolsey one penny towards the cost of his living, still would he do something towards assisting the poorer part of the household, presenting at the same time five pounds to the Cardinal; "and now let us see," added he, "what your chaplains will do. I think they will depart with you much more liberally than I, who be more able to give you a pound than I a penny. Go to, masters!" —addressing himself to the chaplains, who thus publicly called upon, and after such an example, found it necessary to come forward also with their donations; some offering ten pounds; others twenty nobles; some imitating Cromwell's gift of five pounds: in consequence of which the Cardinal was enabled to distribute ten shillings apiece to the yeomen, in part of their quarter's wages, together with as much more as would pay each for a month's board wages.

The household being now dismissed, they assembled in the hall to talk over the affair; but though some prepared to set off to see their friends; yet it is said there were others who would

not depart, nor leave their master, until they should see him restored to a better state. We state this upon the authority of Cavendish, who is, no doubt, more worthy of credit than those annalists who have brought a sweeping charge of ingratitude against all the members of his numerous household, as recorded in a preceding page. Still are we disposed to give due praise, for his generous and disinterested conduct towards his master, to Secretary Cromwell, who instantly set off to London, but not as one of the deserters, for he was stanch to his master's cause, and only left him for the purpose of getting into parliament, then about to meet. In this, too, he was successful; for soon after his arrival in town, he met a very particular friend, Sir Thomas Bysshe, whose son then sat for a borough, and it was soon arranged that young Bysshe should retire, that Cromwell might be returned in his stead—a very important and very curious fact, as it shows that seats in parliament were sought after and attained by something like modern means, long previous to that period generally alluded to by political writers who speak so much of the good old times when corruption was unknown.

Let it be remarked, too, that the whole of this transaction took place in less than three days, for in three days after his departure, Cromwell returned to Esher; when on his introduction to the Cardinal by the gentleman usher, he observed

to the latter "I have adventured my feet where I will be better regarded, ere the parliament be dissolved."

Cromwell had then some short conversation with the Cardinal, after which he posted back to town in order to join the House at its first sitting, so as to acquire information for his master on all points of accusation that might be brought against him—a matter of great importance to the Cardinal in regard to the early preparation of his defence.

We have already hinted at a second ring and friendly message being sent by the king to Wolsey; and the manner in which this ring and message were presented, described by Cavendish in his gossiping way, may serve to illustrate not only the manners of those times, but also the courtly politics of that day, showing clearly that even the "tyrant Harry," as he is so often called, was as much under the control of his ministers as the most constitutional monarch that ever sat upon the English throne. To give the scene its full effect, we shall insert it verbatim; premising that it took place on the evening after the dismissal of the household.

"After my Lorde had supped that nighte, and all men gone to bed, being alhollowday aboute midnighte, one of the porters came to my chamber dore, and knocked there to wake me: and beinge once awake, and perceiving who was there, I asked

him what he would have that tyme of the nighte. Sir, quoth he, there be a great number of horsemen at the gate, that would come in, sayinge that it is Sir John Russell; and so it appears by his voice; and what is your pleasure that I shall do? said he. Marie, quoth I, go downe againe and make a greate fier in your lodge, (untill I come) to drie them; for it rayned all that nighte moste vehementlie as it did any tyme before. Then I rose and made me readie, and put on my nighte gowne, and came to the gates, and asked who was theare? With that Master Russell spake to me, whome I knewe righte well, and caused the gates to be set open, and let them all come in who were wet to the very skynne. I caused Mr. Russell to go unto the fier in the porter's lodge to drie him, and he shewed me that he was come from ye kynge unto my lorde, in message with whome he required me to speake. Sir, quoth I, I trust your newes be good. Yea, I promise you on my fidelitie, and so tell him that I have brought him such newes as will please him righte well. Then (quoth I), will I go and wake him, and cause him to rise. I went incontinent to my lorde's chamber doore, and knocked there so, that my lorde spake to me, and asked me what I would have. With that, I tolde him of the comynge of Sir John Russell; and then he called up to him one of his groomes to let me in, and when I was come to him, I tolde him againe of the jorney that Sir

John Russell had taken, that troublesome nighte. I praie God, all be for the best, (quoth he). Yea sir, (quoth I) he shewed mee and so badde me tell you, that he broughte you suche newes as ye would greatlie rejoyce thereat. Well then, (quoth he) God be praised, and welcome be his grace. Go ye and fetche him to me, and by that tyme I will be readie to talke with him. Then returned I into the lodge, and broughte Mr. Russell from thence to my lorde, who had caste about him his nighte gowne. And when Mr. Russell was come before him, he moste humblie reverenced him upon his knee, whome my lorde stooped unto, and tooke him up, and bad him welcome. Sir, quoth he, the king commendeth him unto you; and delivered him a great ringe of golde with a turkes, for a token, and willed me to bid you be of good cheere, for he loveth you as well as ever he did, and is sorie for your trouble; whose mind runneth muche upon you, insomuch that before his Grace sat downe to supper, he called me unto him, and desired me to take the paine servablie to visit you and to comforte you, the best of my power. And sir, I have had the sorest jorney for so little value that ever I had to my remembrance.

"My lorde thanked him for his paines and good newes, and demaunded of him if he had supped; and he saide naye. Well then, quoth my lorde, cause the cookes to provide meate for him, and cause a chamber to be provided for him that he

maie take his reste a while upon a bed. All whiche commandment I fulfilled; and, in the mean time, Mr. Russell went to his chamber, takinge his leave of my lorde; and saide he would tarie but a while, for he would be at the court at Grenewiche againe before daye; and would not for anie thinge that were knowne that he had beene with my lorde that nighte. And so being in his chamber, havinge a small repaste, rested him a while upon a bedd, whilst his servaunts supped and dried them; and that donne, incontinent he rode awaie with spede againe to the courte. After this, within a while, my lorde was restored to plate vessell, and household stuffe of everie thinge necessarie some parte; so that he was better furnished than before."

There is some confusion, as we have previously noticed, amongst the various historians, in regard to the exact routine of the proceedings against Wolsey; some considering the proceedings of the attorney-general against him, by indictment on the 9th of October, as merely preparatory to ulterior law process, whilst others, and upon good authority, consider some conviction to have actually taken place, as there is still extant the king's brief *, declaring, that on the 9th of October last, upon certain grave contempts, he was convicted, and also, by the judgment of the court, put

* Rymer Fœd. xiv. 317.

out of the king's protection, yet at his supplication, the king takes his body and person under his protection; he being ordered to appear *in curia regis* to answer to various grave contempts, transgressions, and offences, committed and perpetrated by the said Cardinal against us, our crown, dignity, and royal power! This then leads us to the first parliamentary impeachment of the Cardinal, which is summed up very shortly by Cavendish, who merely states that a bill of articles was brought into parliament to have him condemned of high treason, "against which bill Master Cromwell did inveigh so discreetly and with such witty persuasions, that the same would take no effect,"—and the consequence was that his enemies had no resource left but to indict him for a premunire, a conviction under which would entitle the king to claim all his property whatsoever, especially all that which he had obtained by grant, or purchased for the support of his intended colleges at Oxford and Ipswich; both then erected, and described as most sumptuous buildings *.

The legal proceedings in the premunire were immediately commenced; and shortly after the judges were sent to him to take his answer on the various charges therein contained; to whom he is

* Fiddes asserts that the proceedings on premunire took place before the impeachment; but he appears to confound the first indictment by Hales, the attorney-general, with a subsequent prosecution.

reported to have said,—" My lords, judges, the king knoweth whether I have offended, or no, in using my prerogative for the which I am indicted. I have the king's licence in my coffer to show, under his hand and broad seal, for the executing and using thereof in most large manner, the which now are in the hands of my enemies; but, because I will not here stand to contend with his majesty in his own case, I will here presently before you confess the indictment, and put myself wholly to the mercy and grace of the king, trusting that he hath a conscience and reason to consider the truth, and my humble submission and obedience wherein I might well stand to my trial with justice. Thus much may you say to his highness, that I wholly submit myself under his obedience in all things to his princely will and pleasure, whom I never disobeyed, or repugned, but was always contented and glad to please him before God, whom I ought most chiefly to have believed and obeyed, which I now repent. I most desire you to have me commended to him, for whom I shall during my life pray to God to send him much prosperity, honour, and victory over his enemies."

Having made this declaration, the judges left him; but soon after Judge Shelley was sent to speak with him, when, after all due ceremony of form and salutation, the judge told him that it was the king's pleasure to demand his house, called

York-place, near Westminster, belonging to the bishopric of York,—adding, "and that you do pass the same, according to the laws of the realm, his highness hath sent for all his judges and learned counsel to know their opinions for your assurance thereof; who have fully resolved that your grace must make a recognizance, and before a judge acknowledge and confess the right thereof to belong to the king and his successors; and so his highness shall be assured thereof. Wherefore it hath pleased the king to send me hither to take of you the recognizance, having in your grace such affiance that you will not refuse to do so; therefore I do desire to know your grace's pleasure therein."

This demand, so made, seems to have roused Wolsey's mettle, for he instantly replied,—"Master Shelley! I know the king, of his own nature, is of a royal spirit, not requiring more than reason shall lead him to by the law: and therefore I counsel you, and all other judges and learned men of his counsel, to put no more into his head than law, that may stand with conscience. For, when you tell him that although this be law, yet it is not conscience; for law without conscience is not fit to be ministered by a king nor his counsel, nor by any of his ministers, for every counsel to a king ought to have respect to conscience before the rigour of the law—Laus est facere quod decet, non quod licit.—The king ought for his royal

dignity and prerogative to mitigate the rigour of the law; and therefore in his princely place he hath constituted a chancellor, to order for him the same, and therefore the court of chancery hath been commonly called the court of conscience; for that it hath jurisdiction to command the law in every case, to desist from the rigour of the execution: and now I say to you, Master Shelley, have I a power, or may I with conscience give that away which is now mine, for me and my successors? If this be law and conscience, I pray you show me your opinion."

Shelley's reply was rather rough and time-serving than courtly,—"Forsooth, there is no great conscience in it; but, having regard to the king's great power, it may the better stand with conscience, who" (meaning the king evidently) "is sufficient to recompence the church of York with the double value."

"That I know well," rejoined the Cardinal, "but there is no such condition, but only a bare and simple departure of other's rights. If every bishop should do so, then might every prelate give away the patrimony of the church; and so, in process of time, leave nothing for their successors to maintain their dignities; which would be but little to the king's honour."

Wolsey then demanded a sight of Shelley's commission, which was produced. He glanced it over; and then said,—"Tell his highness that I am his

most faithful subject, and obedient beadsman, whose command I will in no wise disobey; but will in all things fulfill his pleasure, as you, the fathers of the law, say I may. Therefore I charge your conscience to discharge me; and show his highness from me that I must desire his majesty to remember there is both Heaven and Hell!"

This speech, thus related verbatim by his friend and apologist, shows clearly how deep were the wounds that rankled in Wolsey's bosom, though he endeavoured, by a dignified and philosophic behaviour, in some measure to defeat the malice of his enemies by not permitting them to see how much he suffered. Indeed it is pretty evident that even now they feared he should regain the royal confidence, for they could not but perceive "the good affection the king bore always towards him,"—nay Cavendish asserts that they feared him more after his fall, than they did during his prosperity; for should he again come into favour and political power, they well knew what they might expect from his revenge, by his previous conduct to Sir Amyas Paulet. In consequence of this feeling, therefore, they not only continued to keep up the royal animosity towards him by repeated charges, but they also used, as Cavendish states, every means in their power to fret and chafe the Cardinal himself, in hopes that death might thus step in and relieve them from all further contest.

It is a very curious fact that on the day of Shelley's visit, the Duke of Norfolk was actually sent to the Cardinal, with fresh assurances of the royal favour: and as soon as Wolsey was informed of his near approach, he ordered all his gentlemen to wait upon him down through the hall, and into the lower or outer court, to receive the duke at the gates, and commanded all his yeomen to stand in regular order in the hall, whilst he himself and his train of gentlemen went to the gates, where he received the duke bareheaded *. When the duke dismounted, the Cardinal and he embraced; and the latter then led him by the arm through the hall, towards his presence chamber. As soon as his Grace of Norfolk arrived at the upper end of the hall, he looked with some surprise and admiration at the number of tall yeomen, and turning to them said, "Sirs, the effect of your diligent and faithful service unto your master is this; his calamity hath purchased you of all men, noble and ignoble, much honesty, insomuch as the king commanded me to say to you, in his name, that for the true and loving service ye have done to your master, his highness will see you all at any time furnished with services according to your *demerits*."

On hearing this, the Cardinal took off his cap;

* This visit appears to have taken place after the explanation with the household; it is evident, therefore, that he was not deserted by all his domestics.

and turning to the duke said, "These men be all approved men; therefore it were pity they should want any service: and being sorry that I am not able to do for them as my heart wisheth, I will therefore require you, my good lord, to be good lord unto them, and extend your charity among them where and when ye shall see occasion at any time hereafter; and that ye will prefer their diligence and faithful service unto the king."

"Doubt ye not, my lord," replied the duke, "but I will do for them the best in my power: and whenever I see cause I will be an earnest suitor for them to the king: and some of you I will retain myself in service, for right honest men; and as you have begun, so continue now until you hear more of the king's pleasure." Then adding, "God's blessing and mine be upon you," he went up to the great chamber to dinner, where Wolsey thanked him for his kind consideration towards his household, saying,—"Yet, my lord, of all other noblemen, I have most cause to thank you for your noble and gentle heart, the which you have showed me behind my back, as my servant, Thomas Cromwell, hath reported unto me. But even as you be a nobleman, indeed, so have you showed yourself no less to all men in calamity, and in especial to me, whom ye have brought down from my high estate; but now again, being in this miserable state, ye have extended your favour most honourably with great charity, ye do right

well deserve to bear in your arms the noble and gentle lion, whose natural property is, when he hath vanquished a cruel beast, and seeeth him yielded, lying prostrate before him under his feet, then will he be merciful unto him, and do him no more hurt, nor suffer any ravenous beast to devour him; all whose natural inclination ye have. Wherefore I may say these verses in your commendation—

> "Parcere prostratis scit nobilis ira leonis:
> Tu quoque fac simile, quisquis regnabis in orbe."

Just as the Cardinal had finished this consummate piece of flattery, the water was brought to wash, to which operation Wolsey called the attention of the duke, to wash in the same vessel with him; but the latter refused to do so, as Cavendish says, "out of courtesie," but more probably either from pride or enmity, though he cloaked the refusal on the score that it became him no more to presume to wash with him now than it did before. "Yea," answered the Cardinal, "for my legantine power is gone, wherein stood all my high honour." —"A strawe for your legantine rank," replied the duke. "I never esteemed your honour the higher for that; but I esteemed your honour for that ye were Archbishop of York, and a Cardinal, whose estate and honour surmounteth any duke now within this realm: and even so will I honour you, and acknowledge the same in doing you reverence and honour accordingly. Therefore, I pray you,

hold me excused; for I will not presume to wash with you."

Wolsey was thus obliged to perform the ablution by himself, after which the duke washed; yet apparently, as Cavendish describes it, in the same water.

This ceremony over, Wolsey wished that the duke should sit down in the chair on the inner side of the table; but this also Norfolk refused, "with much humbleness." Another chair was then set for the duke opposite to the Cardinal, on the outside of the table; but even that the duke caused to be set a little lower down, or as it is in the MS. "to be based somethinge beneathe, and would not sit directly againste my lord."

The conversation now turned principally upon the diligent service of the gentlemen that waited during dinner, and how much the king and all the other lords did esteem and commend them in so doing, and how little they were regarded in the court, who had gone into the king's service, and thus forsook their master in the time of his necessity; some of whom the duke even blamed by name.

This conversation ended, the duke and Cardinal rose from table, retiring to the privy chamber, where they continued in private consultation, until it happened that the arrival of Judge Shelley was announced, when the duke expressed his desire to go to another chamber, to repose himself for a little while. This, of course, was agreed to; but

as the duke came out of the privy chamber, he met with Shelley, who immediately addressed him, and after relating the affair on which he was come, as already detailed, requested that he would stop and assist him in executing his message; but this the duke refused, saying—" I have nothing to do with your message, and therefore will not meddle," and then departed for his chamber, where he rested for an hour or two.

In the mean time, Wolsey left his privy chamber, and went to Shelley in the ante-room, desiring to know the purport of his message, doubtless much emboldened by the previous assurances of royal favour.

Notwithstanding the pride of the Cardinal in his prosperity, and some slight bursts of an independent spirit against his enemies and persecutors in his adversity, he seems, upon the whole, to have sunk very low occasionally, with regard to solicitations to all those who, as he imagined, might be of assistance to him. A remarkable instance of this occurs in an original letter of his *, addressed to the king's secretary:—

" Myn owne goode Mastyr Secretary,

" Albeit I am in such alteration and indysspposition of my hede and body, by ye menys of my dayly sorrow and hevynes, y^t I am feign ommit to wryt any long letters; yet my trustyng frende, Thomas Cromwel, retowrnyng and repayring onto

* Brit. Mus. Lansd. Coll. No. 121, art. 3, an autograph.

you, I cowde nat forbere but brevily to put y^{o} in remembrance, how y^{t} after ye consultation takyn by ye king's highnes opon myn ordering, wch yee supposed should bee on Sonday was sevynighte, yee wold not fail to advertyse mee at ye leyngth of the specialty thereof; of ye wch to here and have knowleg, I have and dayly do loke for. I pray y^{o} therfor, at ye reverens of God, and of thys holy tyme, and as yee love and tendyr my poore lif, do so much as to wryt onto mee y^{r} seyd letters; wherby I may take some cumfort and rest: not doubting but y^{r} hert ys so gentyl and petiful, y^{t} havyng knowleg in w^{t} agony I am yn, yee wole take ye paine to send onto me y^{r} seyd consolatory letters, wherby yee shall nat ondly deserve towards God, but also bynde mee to bee, as I am, y^{r} continual bedisman. Wrytten this mornyng at Asher w^{n} ye onde hand and sorrowful hert of y^{rs} with hest and prayer.

"T. Car.^{lis} Ebor. Miserrimus."

Of the same nature was another epistle to the king's secretary, and evidently of this date.

"To the Rygth honorable and my assuryd Frende, Mustyr Secretary *.

"My owne good Mastyr Secretary,

"After my moste herty commendations, I pray you at the reverens of God to helpe that expedition be usyd in my persuts, the delay wherof so re-

* Brit. Mus. Ays. Col. 4160.

plenyshyd my herte with Hevynes, that I can take no reste; not for anye vayne fere, but onely for the miserable condytion, that I am presently yn, and lyklyhod to contynue in the same, onles that yow, in whom ys myn assuryd truste, do helpe and relieve me therin. For fyrste, contynuyng here in thys moiste and corupt ayer, beyng enteryd agn to the passyon of the dropsy—*** *appetitus et continuo in somnio*, I cannot lyve. Wherfor of necesyte I muste be removyd to some othyr dryer ayer and place, where I may have comodyte of physycyans. Secondly, havyng but parte, wych ys now decayed, of viii c £ by the yeere, I cannot tell howe to lyve, and kepe the poore nombyr of folkes, wych I nowe have, my howsys and *** be in decay, and of evry thyng mete for howsold unprovydyd and unfurnyshyd, I have non apparell for my howsys ther, nor money to bryng me thither, nor to lyve with bye the propysse tyme of the yeere shal come to remove thether. Thes thyngs consyderyd, Mr. Secretary, must nedys make me in agony and hevynes, myn age therwith and sycknes consyderyd. Alas! Mr. Secretary, ye with other my lords, shewyd me that I shuld otherwyse be furnyshyd and seyn unto. Ye knowe yn your lernyng and consyens whether I shuld forfet my spiritualties of Wynchester, or alas! the qualytes of myn offencys consyderyd wyth the grate punyshment

and losse of my goodes, yf I have sustaynyd owt to move pityful judges, and the moste nobyl kynge, to whom yf yt wold plese yow of your charytable goodnes to shewe the primisses, as yn your accustomable wysdom and dixteritye, that yt wold not be dowtyd, but hys hyhnes wold have consyderatyon and compassyon, augmentyng my lyvynge and appoyntyng such thynges as shuld be convenyent for furniture; wych to do shall be the kynges hyhnes honor, meryte, and dyscharge of consyens, and to yow grete prayse for the bryngynge of the same to passe, for your olde brynger up and lovyng frende.

"Thys kyndnes exhibite from the kynges hyhnes shal prolong my lyff for some lytyl whyl, thow yt shal not be long, by the meane wherof hys grace shal profytt, and by my deth non. What ys yt to hys hyhnes to gyve some convenyent pensyons out of Wynchester and Seynt Albons, hys grace takyng wyth my herty good wyl the residew. Remember, good Mr. Secretary, my poore degre, and what servys I have done, thow nowe approchyng to deth, I must begyn the world ageyn. I besech you, therfor, movyd wythe pitye and compassyon soker me in thys my calamite, and to your power, wych I knowe ys gret, releve me; and I wyth all myn shal not onely asscrybe thys my relef unto you, but alsoe pray to God for the increase of your honor, and as my power shall

increase, I shal not fayle to requyte your kyndnes. Wryttyn hastely at Asher, wyth the rude and shackyng hande of your dayly bedysman and assuryd frende,

"T. CAR.lis EBOR."

To this epistle there is no date, but it seems to have been answered by Gardner, which answer produced the following reply from the fallen favourite:—

"To the* Ryght Honorable Mr. Secretary in hast.

"My owne goode Mustyr Secretary,

"Goyng this day out of my pue to hey mass, your lettres, datyd yesternyght at London, wer delyveryd unto me; by the contynue whereof, I undyrstand that the kyng's hyhnes, of hys excellent goodness and charyte, ys contentyd that I shall injoy and have the admynystration of Yorke minster with the gyftes of the promotions spirituel and temporal of the same, reservyng onely unto hys nobyl grace the gyft of v or vi of the best promotions. And that hys pleasur ys I shall leve Wynchester and Saynt Albons. As I wolde, Mr. Secretary, I cannot expresse howe moche I am bownd ynto the kynge's royall majeste for thys hys gret and bownteouse liberalitye, re-

* Ayscough. B. M. 4160. 6.

putynge the same to be moche more then I shal evyr be abyl to deserve. Howbeyt yf hys majeste consyderyng the short and lytyl tymes that I shal lyve here in thys world, by the reasons of such hevynes as I have conceyvyd in my hart, with the ruinowse (state) of the olde howsys and the decay of the sayd archbyshopryck at the best to the sum of viii c. marcks yerely, by the reason of the Act passyd for fynys of testaments, wth also my long paynful servys and poore degre; and for the declarations of hys Grace's excellent charyte, yf hys hyhnes is myndyd I shal leve Wynchester and Saynt Albons, wych I supposyd when I maid my submyssyon, not offendyng in my truth towards hys royal person, dygnyte, or majeste royal, I sholde not, nor had desyrvyd to have lyfe; and moche the more knowyng hys Grace's excellent propensyon to pyte and mercye, and remembryng the franche departyng with of all I had in thys world, that I may have some conveynyent pension reservyd unto me, such as the kynges hyhnes of his nobyll hart shal thynk mete, so consyderyng hym that shal succede unto my lyvyngs, that the same may be of lyck valew yeerly and extent: whereas my trust ys that, and my harte so geyfs me, that hys majeste wold make no dyffyculty yf yt may lyck yow friendly to propound the same, assuryng yow that I desyre not thys for anye mynde (God ys my judge)

that I have to accumulate good, or desyre that I have to the mucke of world, for, God be thankyd, at thys ower I set no more by the ryches of and preeminences of the world, than by the dust undyr my fote; but onely for the declaration of the kyng's favor and hyhe charyte, and to have wherwith to do good dedys, and to helpe my poore servants and kynnys folks. And furthermore that yt may plese the kyng's excellent goodnes, by your frendly medyation, consyderyng howe slendyrlye I am provydyd yn my howse now, specyally that the appoyntments of Wynchester and Saynte Albons shal be takyne to give unto me a conve * * * * * for the same, *non ad pompam, sed necessariam honestatem.* And yf I may have the free gyft and disposyng of the benefyts, yt shal be gretly to my comfort. And yet when anye of the v or vi pryncypall shal fortyne to be voyd, the kynge's grace beyng myndyd to have anye of them, hys hyhnes shal be as sure of the same, as though they were reservyd. And thus by hys nobyl and mercyful goodnes, delyveryd oute of extreme calamyte, and restoryd to a newe freedome, I shal, wyth God's mercy and helpe, so ordyr my lyff, that I trust hys majeste shal take special comfort therein. *Spero quod hoc, quod peto, non videbytur magnum.* Howbeyt, I most humblye submyt and referre all my petytyons *in* * * * * *vitam* to hys gracyowse ordenance and pleasur, praying yow to declare and sygnyfy the same,

supplying myn indysposytion and lacke of wyte, waynyd by reason of my extreme sorowe and hevynes, that the same may be to the kynges assentation, wherein I had lever be ded than to offende, in word, thowght, or dede. And as towchyng the grantyng of the fee of one c. £. for Mr. Norer, duryng hys lyff for hys good servys done unto the kynge's hyhnes, for the wych I have always lovyd hym for the singular good hert and mynde that I knowe he hath always borne unto me. I am content to make out my graunte upon the same, ye and yt wol plese the kynge to inlarge yt c. £. more, and semblebye because Mr. Thesaurer hath the kepyng of the kynge's game nygh to Fernham, I wold gladly, yf yt may stande wyth the kynge's pleasure, graunt unto hym the reversyon of such revenues of the sayde landes sithens then wyth the ampliation of the fee aboue that wych ys oldely accustomyd to the sum of XL £. by the yeere, and also I wold gladly gyve to Mr. Comptroller, a lycke fee, and to Mr. Russell anothyr for XX £. by the yeere. Remyttynge this and all my suts to the kynge's hyhnes' pleesure, mercy, pity, and compassyon, most humblye beseechyng hys hyhnes so nowe gracyously to order me that I may from henceforth serve God gayely, and wyth repose of mynde, and pray, as I am most bowndyn, for the conservatyon and increase of hys most nobyl and royal estate. And thus, wyth my dayly prayer I byd yow farewell. From

Asher hastly, wyth the rude hand, and most hevy harte of

"Yowre assuryd frend and bedysman.

"T. CAR.lis EBOR."

There is no account of the specific charges against Wolsey until the 1st of December, when express articles were exhibited against him, the purport of which was to accuse him of bribery, extortion, and other misdemeanors. Other charges were, the taking goods from religious houses by virtue of the legantine power; the forming a treaty between France and the pope, without acquainting the king, and various other acts of diplomacy with Florence and other states, under the great seal, yet without the royal leave; the joining himself with the king in his despatches—"the king and I will that ye do this"—thus using himself more like a fellow than a subject; that other people's servants were first sworn to be true to the king, and then to their master, but that *his* servants were sworn to himself alone; the coming, whilst nauseously diseased, into the royal presence; the illegal granting of benefices as legate; that his practice was first to see all ambassadors, and all despatches, to the abuse of the king and council; the licensing, under the great seal, of the exportation of grain, &c. after restraints, but for his own lucre; the levying charges on religious houses, preventing them from their accustomed

hospitality and alms; his insolence in council; his delays of justice; extortion against the ordinaries of dioceses; false reports to the pope, by which many good religious houses were put down; the reversing of legal decisions of the courts, by private hearings in his chamber; illegal proceedings, by which almost the whole lands of England were brought into Chancery; suspending the pope's pardons until large sums were paid to himself; the visiting and robbing, by clerical law, the religious houses, tampering with judges, and ordering the deferring of judgments; procuring places for his illegitimate son, Winter, to the amount of £2700 per annum, of which he took to himself £2500, leaving to the son only £200; to these must be added his illegal acts under the legantine power, and contrary to solemn promise, his exciting of discontent against the nobility, and his assumption of royal state and power, in regard to purveyors, shops, &c. &c.

The 38th article of the impeachment accuses him of having two children by the daughter of one Lack; and in the 28th we find specified the appointments to his natural son, being in rapid succession, a deanery, five prebends, an arch-deaconry, a chancellorship, a provostship, and two rectories!

Then came a charge of forcing Sir John Stanley, by imprisonment, to give up his convent seal of lands held from the abbot of Exeter, to one

Leyche of Adlington, who had married Lack's daughter, after she had borne two children to himself, after which, Stanley, in a fit of despair, became a monk in Westminster Abbey. There were other charges of putting the cardinal's hat under the royal arms in groats coined at the York mint; and of his always writing "Ego et Rex meus"—I and the king—in despatches to Rome or to other foreign courts; and finally, his accusers called upon the king to remove the Cardinal, for ever, from all place and power.

In this wish they were fully gratified, as the succeeding pages will show; and, for the present, his enemies were successful in throwing him into a very severe fit of illness which, whether at first real or political it is now impossible to ascertain, increased so much towards Christmas, that his probable demise was publicly talked of. This came to the king's ears, in spite of the attempts of Wolsey's enemies to conceal it, and it made a great impression upon his majesty, who instantly sent his own physician, Dr. Butts, to Esher, where he found his new patient apparently very ill, and confined to his bed. When Butts returned to court, the king asked him, "Have you seen yonder man?" to which the physician answering in the affirmative, his majesty again demanded, "How do you like him?"—"Sir," answered Butts, "if you will have him dead, I will warrant you he will be dead within these four days, if he

receive no comfort from you shortly." "Marry, God forbid!" exclaimed the monarch, "that he should die, for I would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds. I pray you go to him, and do your care to him."

To this the doctor bowed submission; but added, "Then must your grace send him some comfortable message"—the king paused a moment, and then answered—"So I will, and by you: therefore make speed to him again, and you shall give him this ring from me for a token."

He then pulled off the ring and presented it to the physician, who observed that it was a ruby with the king's picture engraven on it:—the monarch then added, "This ring he knoweth well, for he gave me the same; and tell him that I am not offended with him in my heart for any thing; and that shall be known shortly. Therefore bid him pluck up his heart, and be of good comfort; and I charge you come not from him till you have brought him out of the danger of death, if it be possible."

It appears that this conference took place in the presence of the Lady Anne, to whom the king now addressed himself; and said, "Good sweetheart! as you love me, send the Cardinal a token at my request, and in so doing you shall deserve our thanks!" Struck with the apparent tendency towards reconciliation on the part of the king, the favourite was, for a moment, at a loss how

to act; but she prudently acquiesced in the demand, and immediately took off a golden tablet that hung at her side, and delivered it to the doctor, accompanied by a friendly message to his patient, or as Cavendish says, "with very gentle and loving words."

Dr. Butts now departed to visit the Cardinal; but so anxious was the king, and so warm did he feel his returning favour to him, that he instantly sent three physicians, the Drs. Cromer, Clement, and Wotton, to assist him in whatever consultations might be necessary.

The second visit of Dr. Butt seems to have had very favourable effects; for no sooner did he deliver the courtly tokens, together with the flattering messages accompanying them, than the Cardinal raised himself in his bed, "and received," says Cavendish, "the tokens very joyfully, giving him many thanks for his paines and good comfort."

Dr. Butt then informed his patient, that he had the royal orders to attend upon him; and, having by this time received intelligence of the coming of the other physicians, he informed him of that also, recommending that they should be called in, agreeable to the king's desire.

To all this the Cardinal at once assented; the more particularly as he placed great confidence, greater, indeed, in the skill of Dr. Cromer, than of all the others, as he had known his abilities in

Paris; for he himself had brought him into England, after his studies were finished, during which time the Cardinal had in a great measure supported him out of his privy-purse.

His recovery was now rapid; for, "in foure dayes they sette him again upon his feete, and hee had gotten him a good stomacke to meate"—when the learned doctors, no doubt surprised at their own skill in this sudden cure, took leave and departed.

The Cardinal wished to have paid them a handsome fee; but they all refused, assuring him, that they had it in positive command from the king himself not to recive any reward, as his majesty would remunerate them himself agreeable to their deserts.

Wolsey having passed his winter at Esher, the feast of Candlemas was now approaching, about which time the king began to think of adding to the comforts of his old friend; accordingly, he caused to be sent to him three or four waggons loaded with household goods, including both for the kitchen and bed-chambers, and containing plate and rich hangings, besides chapel furniture: all which his majesty is stated to have done without either the advice or knowledge of the lords of the council. Emboldened by this unexpected favour, the Cardinal not only sent back to the king his "most humble and hearty thanks," but he also ventured, privately, to request that he

might change his residence from Esher to the house at Richmond, which he had fitted up at his own expense, and at great cost, when his majesty gave it to him in exchange for Hampton-Court.

Soon after this, the Cardinal obtained the king's leave to remove to Richmond, for the benefit of a change of air; but even this favour, though so trifling in itself, was opposed by the Duke of Norfolk, and by some others, whose avowed object was to have him removed, or rather banished, to York.

The Cardinal, however, succeeded so far in opposition to his enemies, as to leave Esher for Richmond, though not ultimately to get over the proposed journey to York. At Richmond he stopped for a few days at his old residence, the lodge in the old or great park; but soon removed to the monastery of the Carthusians at Shene, where he is described as visiting the church every morning, and spending his afternoons in conference with those monks most remarkable for their piety and theological knowlege. So intent was he, indeed, to adopt, or to appear to adopt, a life of penitence and penance, after a long career of ambition, and *worse* as his enemies asserted, that he put on a hair shirt, and also conformed, with the utmost strictness, to the severest rules of the Carthusian order.

The request for change of air, though granted,

was so without being specifically known to the lords of the council, whose policy it was now to keep the Cardinal as far from the king as possible, lest the nearness of his abode might induce his capricious majesty to pay him a random visit, and perhaps receive him again into favour: but no sooner did his enemies in the council ascertain what was going on than they again moved the king that the Cardinal should be directed to proceed to York; where, as they alleged, his presence might be of good service to the country. The representations of the council appeared so reasonable, and it was so proper that an archbishop should reside within his own province, that the king at once adopted their suggestion, and gave orders accordingly.

During all this period, Cromwell was both active and attentive in his duty towards his master; for though he resided in London for his parliamentary duties, yet he contrived to visit the court daily, and daily to make a report to Wolsey of what was going on in regard to him. On one of these visits, the Duke of Norfolk directed him to acquaint the Cardinal that he must go home to his benefice; and when he did so, Wolsey's reply was—"Well then, Thomas, we will go to Winchester;" which Cromwell promised he would state to the duke on his return to court. Having done so, Norfolk exclaimed—"What should he do there? Let him go the rich Bishopric of York, where his

greatest honour and charge lieth, and so show it to him!"

Wolsey's enemies in the council now feared that he was still anxious to keep near to the king, and therefore to check his desire of fixing at Winchester, which he held in commendam, they persuaded Henry to give him a pension of 4000 marks only out of that bishopric, and to distribute the remainder of the annual revenues of the see amongst the nobility, and the principal servants of the royal household. The king was also further persuaded to seize upon the revenues of the Abbey of St. Alban's, and to divide the same amongst the courtiers, some of whom got to the amount of £200 per annum.

In this downfall of the Cardinal's property it is not to be supposed that the revenues of his two colleges should escape; accordingly it appears that the king took the lands belonging to Christ-Church, Oxford, and to the College at Ipswich, into his own hands; and as Cromwell had for some time possessed the agency, or "receit and gouverment," by Wolsey's assignment, so the king thought it proper that he should retain it—a trust which he executed so honestly as to rise much, not only in public estimation, but also in the royal favour.

In all these proceedings it appears that the principal agents were anxious to preserve the semblance of law, if not of justice; and on the 7th

of February 1530, we find a decree of Sir Thomas More, the new Chancellor, delivering to the king, and his heirs for ever, one messuage, two gardens, and three acres of land, forming the site of the archiepiscopal residence, then called York Place: and soon after, on the 13th, was passed the king's special pardon* to the Cardinal, "accused and condemned of grave contempts, crimes, excesses, enormities, abuses, wickednesses;" the preceding document, of the 21st of November, being only a grant of protection, and not of full pardon: this latter, indeed, not only freeing Wolsey from the effects of the Premunire, but the whole clergy of the realm.

On the 17th of February some legality of appearance was given to the stripping of the Cardinal of Winchester and St. Alban's, by an indenture† between him and the king, in which he is made to consent to what is therein stated to be already lost to him by his conviction; and Henry, now fully satiated with the plunder of his quondam favourite, seems to have been anxious to soften his difficulties by sending him many valuable presents, as an earnest of future friendship and kindness.

But this kindness of the king was much thwarted by Wolsey's enemies, who had the littleness to interfere in regard to the things sent,

* Rymer, Fœd. xiv. 366.

† Rymer, Fœd. xiv. 374.

causing them to be selected of a much inferior nature from what the king intended*. Wolsey, however, with a cautious policy, avoided any thing like complaint; and, when the packages were opened, merely observed to his household, that he thought the supply might have been better appointed. "But, sirs," continued he, "he that hath nothing is glad of somewhat; and although it be not in comparison, nor yet so good in value, as wee had before, yet hereof we enjoye more than we did before of all the great abundance that we had. Let us then give the king our most humble thanks, trusting after this to attain to more. Therefore let us all rejoice and be glad that God and the king have so graciously favoured us, to restore us to something to maintain our estate like a noble person."

* There was an apparent munificence in the king's intentions on this occasion, which makes the affair worthy of specific notice; we have therefore to state, that the most important part of the donation consisted in a restoration of every thing belonging to the See of York, with the exception of York Place. To this must be added, money to the amount of £3000—9565 ounces of plate, valued at £1753—apparel, bedding, napery, &c., worth £800—eighty horses and their trappings, about £150—mules for carriage and saddle to the value of £100—lyng fish, 1000 in number—800 cod and haberdine—8 waye of salt, worth £10—kitchen implements valued at £80—52 oxen, worth £50—60 muttons, estimated at £12—together with personal apparel for the Cardinal himself, worth £300—the whole being estimated at the sum of £6374.

Such is often the curious turn of affairs, that many of Wolsey's enemies, who before longed for his death, were now as anxious that he should live; for having received from the king either annuities or fees for term of life, or grants by patent, out of the Cardinal's lands forfeited under the premunire, they began to recollect that the king's power to grant could not go beyond the terms of that premunire, and of course they held their grants by a very uncertain tenure. Accordingly, after the best legal advice, they felt that to make their hold on these lands good and sufficient there was no other way left for them but to prevail upon Wolsey to confirm their patents. For this purpose they selected Cromwell as their fittest agent, who actually undertook the task, and succeeded in it—" and to bring this about, there was no other meanes but by Master Cromwell, who was thought the fittest instrument for this purpose, and for his paines therein he was worthily rewarded; and his demeanour, his honesty, and wisedom was such, that the king took great notice of him."

When this affair was arranged, and certainly one of the secret springs of which, on the Cardinal's part, seems very little to be known, the lords of the council again began to concert measures for his removal to York, and the Duke of Norfolk took upon him to be the active man upon this occasion, saying to Cromwell—" Master Crom-

well, methinks the Cardinal, thy master, makes no haste to go northwards. Tell him, I will tear him with my teeth: therefore I would advise him to prepare away with speed, or else I will set him forwards."

Cromwell took an early opportunity of repairing to Richmond, to acquaint the Cardinal with this message; and in the evening of that day a curious circumstance happened, which we shall give nearly in Cavendish's own words. He says—" My lord being accustomed to walke in the garden, and I being with him standing in an alley, I espied certaine images of beasts counterfeited in timber, which I went nearer to take the better view of them, among whom I there saw stand a dunne cow, whereat I most mused of all those beasts. My lord then suddenly came upon me unawares, and speaking to me said, What have you spied there whereat you look so earnestly? Forsooth, quoth I, if it please your grace, I here behold those images which I suppose were ordained to be set up in the king's palace; but amongst them all I have most considered this *cowe*, which seems to me the artificer's master-piece. Yea! marry, quoth my lord, upon this cowe hangs a certain prophesie, which perhaps you never heard of. I will show you. There is a saying—

When the cowe doth ride the bull,
Then priest beware thy scull!

Which saying neither my lord that declared it, nor I that heard it, understood the effect, although the compasse thereof was working, and then like to bee brought to passe. This cowe the king gave, by reason of the earledome of Richmond, which was his inheritance. This prophesie was afterwards expounded in this manner:—The dunne cowe, because it is the king's beast, betokens the king; and the bull betokens Mistris Anne Bulloigne, who after was queene. Her father gave the black bull's head in his cognizance, and (it) was his beast; so that when the king had marryed Queene Anne, it was thought of all men to be fulfilled; for what a number of priests, religious and secular, lost their heads for offending of those laws made to bring this matter to passe, is not unknown to all the world; therefore it may well be judged that this prophesie is fulfilled."

We have already mentioned the Cardinal's resolve, as urged by the Duke of Norfolk, to obey his majesty's commands about retiring to his archbishopric of York; and it is further to be stated, that he wished the king to know that he was only prevented from doing so through want of money. He, therefore, requested Cromwell would go to court, and desire the king to send him some, for the last that he had from him was insufficient to pay his debts, and that now to compel him to pay all his debts would be requiring too much, since

all his goods were taken from him. He begged him also fully to explain to the Duke of Norfolk, and to the other lords of the council, that he would depart, if he had money to enable him so to do. This Cromwell promised faithfully to execute; and went to London, and soon after succeeded so far in his embassy to court, that the lords of the council agreed the Cardinal should have one thousand marks pension out of the temporalities of Winchester see, to enable him to proceed on his northern journey; and so anxious was the king for his departure, or perhaps from kindness to his quondam favourite, that he ordered the money to be paid immediately to Cromwell, directing the secretary to attend him as soon as the money should be paid. When Cromwell waited upon his majesty, Henry said—"Show your lord that I have sent him ten thousand pounds of my benevolence, and tell him he shall not lacke. Bid him be of good comfort." For this show of favour the secretary returned many thanks, and instantly set off for Richmond, where the money, and the king's favourable expressions, are stated to have rejoiced the Cardinal much.

Great preparations were now made for the journey, and the Cardinal, with something like his former pomp, set out just before the Passion week for York, with a train of one hundred and sixty persons, besides twelve carts loaded with goods, which he had sent for from the college of

Christ Church, and others for the carriage of articles for daily use *.

The day of departure being arrived, the Cardinal set off at an early hour, and proceeded as far as Hendon, lodging for the night at the house of the Abbot of Westminster: and the next day pursuing his journey by the way of Peterborough, where he kept the feast of Easter in the most solemn manner; going in procession with the monks on Palm Sunday, and bearing his palm with all the apparent humility of the lowest in rank of his companions.

On Maundy Thursday he also conformed strictly to all the injunctions of the church, having fifty-nine poor people collected, whose feet he washed and kissed, after having dried them, giving to each twelve-pence, and three ells of good canvas for shirts; to each he also gave a pair of shoes, and a cask of red herrings. On Easter day also he rose early to assist in the ceremony of the

* A domestic anecdote is related by Cavendish, in regard to this journey, which deserves notice. He says, that preparatory to his departure, Wolsey sent to London for livery coats for those servants that should accompany him to the north; but some he refused, such as he thought were not likely to be useful, whilst "some againe, of their own minde, desired his honour to tarie still in the south, being verie lothe to forsake their *natife countrye*, their parentes, wives, and children, whome hee righte gladlie and with his good will licensed so to do, and rendered unto them his thanks for their longe tariance with him in his trouble."

resurrection; and on that holy day "he went in procession in his Cardinal's vestments, and having his hat upon his head, and sung the high masse there himselfe solemnlie; after his masse, he gave his benediction to all the hearers, with cleane remission."

During his stay at Peterborough, Wolsey felt a wish to pass some time at the house of Sir William Fitzwilliam, an old friend, about four miles distant from Peterborough; and to bring it about, ordered his gentleman-usher to ride thither, and to procure him a lodging for three or four days, on his journey northwards. Cavendish declares, that on delivering his message, Sir William appeared the gladdest man alive, both by his words and deeds, that the Cardinal would so lovingly take his house in his way; saying that he should be the heartiest welcome of any man alive, the king his sovereign excepted; adding that the Cardinal would have no occasion to unload any part of his furniture for his own use, during his abode there, but should have "all necessarie stuffe of his owne to occupie, unlesse it were my lorde's bedd for his own person. Thus upon reporte made to my lorde, at my returne, he rejoyced not a little, and commanded me," says Cavendish, "to give warning unto all his officers and servaunts, to prepare them to remove from Peterborough upon Thursday next, which was in Easter week. Then made every man all things in such readines as was con-

venient, paying in the towne for all such things as *they had taken;* for which cause my lorde ordered a proclamation to be made in the towne, that if any person or persons were greved by anie of his servaunts, they should resort to his officers, and there they should be answered and have due remedy."

This is not only a curious picture of the manners of that day, in regard to travelling, but also of the state of property and of police in those "good old times!"

In pursuance of his plan, the Cardinal set off on the day appointed for Sir William Fitzwilliam's mansion, where he was received with great hospitality, "and had worthie and honourable enterteynement, at the only costs and charges of the saide Mr. Fitzwilliams, all the time of my lordes being there with hym. The occasion that Mr. Fitzwilliams (was) thus frendly to do was this: he was some time a merchant of London, and sheriff thereof, and bare the charges of the same in the said city; and after there fell a greate debate and grudge betwene the benche of aldermen and the said Sir William, for that he would have a new corporation of merchaunte taylors, contrary to the order of the city. The which caused him to surrendre up his cloak and gone over the freedom of the city, againste whose malyce my lorde bare him much, and after received him into his service, whom he made his treasurer, and after

that his highe chamberlin; and in conclusion, for his wysedome, gravitie, eloquence, and porte, being a comely gentleman, my lord made him one of the kinge's counsaile, who so contynewed during all his lyfe after. And for the especiall goodnes he alwaies founde in my lorde, during his troble with the city, like a faithefull servaunte, he was readie then most joyously to requite him with the semblable, and graunted to shewe him any pleasure that lay in him to do."

Whilst relating his stay here, Cavendish adds, "I cannot choose but declare unto you a notable communication had at Mr. Fitzwilliam's house between my lorde and me, which was this. My lorde walking in the garden at Mr. Fitzwilliam's, saieing his even songe with his chaplaine, and I being there attendant upon him, after he had finished his prayers, he commanded his chaplaine that bore up the gowne traine to deliver the same to me, and to go aside. And after his chaplaine was gone, he spake to me in this wyse, calling me by my name: Ye have bene lately at London, quothe he. Forsoothe, my lord, quoth I, not since I was there to have the liveries for your servauntes. And what newes was there then? quoth he; heard ye no communication of me? I pray you tell me!

"Then perceivinge that I had a good occasion to speake my mynde unto him, I said, Sir, if it please your Grace, it was my chance to be at

dynner in a certein place, where I also supped, and manie honeste and worshipful gentlemen, who were for the most parte of mine old acquaintance, and therefore durst the boldlier participate with me in communication of your Grace, knowinge that I was still your servaunte, and askinge of me how you did, and how you accepted your adversitie and trouble, I answered that ye did well, and accepted all thinge in good parte: and as it seemed to me they were your indifferent frendes of whom they said none evill, but lamented your decaie and downfall verye sore, doubting much the sequele not to be good for the comonwelthe. Also they mervailed muche that ye being of so excellent wit, and of such discretion, woulde so simplie confesse yourselfe guiltye unto the king, as ye did, for (as they understood by reporte of some of the kinge's councell) your case being well considered, ye had great wronge, to the which I could make no direct answere.

"Is this, quoth he, the opinion of wise men?

"Yes, forsoothe, my lord, quoth I, and commonly of all men.

"Well then, quoth he, for all their wisdom, they perceived not so much as I; for I considered that my enemies had broughte the matter so to passe against me, that they conveyed and made it the king's matter and case, and caused the king to take the matter into his own hands: and, after he had once the possession of all my goodes, being

the kinge's onlie case, he, rather than he would have delivered me my goodes againe, and taken a foyle or overthrowe therein at my handes, withoute a double he would not have miste (by the settinge fourthe and procurement of my evill willers) to have imagined my undoing and destruction therein, whereof the best had been perpetual imprisonment, or the daunger of my lyfe. I had rather confesse the matter as I did, and to live at large like a poor vicare, than to lye in prison with all the goodes and honour I then had; and therefore it was for me the better way to yelde me unto the kinge's mercie and clemencie than to stand stiffe againste him in tryall of the wronge whiche I susteyned, wherein the kinge would have been lothe to have been worsted. And in my submission, the kinge, I doubte not, had a conscience, wherein he woulde rather pitie me than maligne me; and also there was the *nighte crowe* *, that ever cried in his eare againste me; and if she mighte have perceived any obstinacie in me, she would not have fayled to have set it fourthe with such vehemencie that I shoulde rather have obteyned the kinge's indignation than his lawfull favoure. And his favoure once loste (as I then knewe that I had done), woulde never have beene by me recovered. Therefore I thoughte it better to keep still his favoure with losse of goodes and dignities, than to rayne his indignation with all

* Evidently alluding to Anne Boleyn.

my witt, trowth, and pollicie; and this was the cause, whiche all men knowe not, that I yelded myselfe so sone giltey to the premunire, wherein the king hath since conceyved a conscience, for he knoweth, and alwaies did know, more the effecte thereof than any other person living. And whether I offended him therein or no, I wholie leave to his conscience, committinge to him the trowthe of my cause."

Circumstanced as Wolsey was, and hoping still to regain the royal favour, it was the most courtly policy thus to yield to the storm until it should blow over—yet the part he played would have been a difficult one for a strictly honest man: but this speech, besides acting as his justification, is also extremely curious as showing the real state of personal security in those "good old times" so much boasted of,—times when a man must be content to yield up all his property, in order to save his head!

Wolsey having proceeded from Sir William Fitzwilliam's mansion to Newark, took up his lodgings in the castle, then in a habitable state of repair, from whence he set off for Southwell, where was an archiepiscopal residence; but it was in such a dilapidated state, that when he arrived there at supper-time, he found it necessary to take up his lodgings in the prebendary's house opposite to it, where he remained until Whitsuntide, when, the palace being set in a habitable state, he took

up his abode in it, keeping open house during the remainder of the summer, which was resorted to "by the most worshipfull of the country."

Cavendish also states, that "diverse noblemen (havinge occasion to repaire into the countrey there) thoughte it goode to visit my lorde as they travelled throughe the countrye, of whome they were most gladlie enterteyned, and had righte good chere, whose noble and gentle behaviour caused him to have muche love in the countrye of all kinds of people. He kept there a noble house, where was both plentie of meate and drinke for all commers, and also muche almes geven at his gate unto the poore of the towne and countrye. He used muche charitie and clemencie amonge his tennauntes and others of the kinge's subjectes, although the hearinge thereof were not pleasaunte in the eares of suche as bare him no goode wille: yet the countrye and comon people will saye as they finde cause; for nowe he was very muche familiar amonge all persons who then accustomablie kept him companie; and, glad at anie time when he mighte do them anye good, he made manie agreements and concordes between gentleman and gentleman, and between some gentlemen and their wives, and other meane persons, the whiche had bene longe before asonder and in greate troble; makinge for everie of them (as occasion did serve) greate assemblies and feastes, not sparing his purse where he might make a

peace and amitie; which gave him much love and friendship in the countrye."

During Wolsey's stay at Southwell, an instrument was brought to him from the king for signature, the nature of which does not appear; but the hurried manner in which it was forced upon him, in the middle of the night and just roused from sleep, forms pretty good evidence of its having been such a document as either the king, or his enemies, were afraid he would refuse his signature to, under other circumstances.

The affair took place upon Corpus Christi Eve, on which occasion the Cardinal had given orders to his household to prepare for the singing of high mass in the morning; and scarcely had the household retired to rest, when two gentlemen arrived at the gate, and demanded instant admission. His gentleman usher being called, he went to the gate to inquire who they were, when they declared themselves to be Mr. Brereton, one of the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber, and a Mr. Wrotherly, who had come post from court to speak with the Cardinal. On this being known, they were instantly admitted into the porter's lodge, when they desired Cavendish to make arrangements, without delay, for their interview with the Cardinal; on which he gave instant information to him of their arrival, of their wish for an immediate interview, and of their intention to depart without any further delay.

In consequence of this, Wolsey gave directions for their being admitted into the next chamber, where he received them in his night dress, in manifestation of his ready compliance with the royal orders; there they did him due reverence, after which he shook them heartily by the hand, and asked how his sovereign lord, the king, did?

"Sir," said they, "righte well and merie; thankes be geven to God!"—adding, "Sir, we muste desire you to talke with you apart."

"With a righte good will," replied the Cardinal.

On this they retired to the recess of a great window, when a long conversation took place; after which the messengers produced what Cavendish calls "a little mall, a close thing in manner of a little coffre covered with greene velvet, and bound with barres of silver and gilte, with a locke on the same havinge a gilte key, with the whiche they opened the chest, out of the whiche cheste they took an instrumente or writinge conteyninge more than a skynne of greate parchmente, havinge manie seales hanginge to the same, whereunto they put more wax for my lorde's seal, to the whiche my lord sealed and subscribed his name with his owne hande, and delivered the same againe unto them; desiringe them, forasmuch as they made haste to departe, to tarie and take a bed, for it was verie late, aboute midnighte, or somethinge paste. They thanked him, and saide they mighte in no wise tarie; but saide they

woulde straite waie ryde to the Earle of Shrewsburie, and do as muche as they coulde to be there before he shoulde be stirringe. And my lorde, seeinge their speedie haste, caused them to eate suche colde meate as there was readie in the house, and to drinke a boll or two of wyne: and that done, he gave eche of them fowre olde soveraignes of fine golde, desyringe them to take it in grace, sainge that if he had ben of greater habilitie, he would have geven them a better rewarde; and so takinge their leave they departed."

Cavendish, who seems to revel in this kind of gossip, relates that after they were gone he heard it said they expressed themselves discontented with the sums given to them by the Cardinal; but then he observes that they were none of his indifferent friends, which induced them to accept the offered reward so disdainfully; yet if they had known how straitened he was for cash at that time, had they been his friends, they would have made every allowance for him; "but nothinge is more loste or caste away than suche thinges as be geven to suche persons."

So secret were the messengers upon this occasion, and such was the secresy, whether ordered or not does not appear, with which the visit was kept, that Cavendish observes there were few or none of all the household, besides himself and the porter, that knew of the affair, "and yet there laye in the house manie strangers and worshipfull gentlemen of the shire."

It is probable that this transaction may have had some reference to a proceeding in London on the 14th of July, when a writ was issued to the lord mayor, certain citizens of London and others, to inquire into what manors, lands, &c. &c. were then possessed by Wolsey, or had come into his possession since the 28th of August, 1523.

The object of this investigation does not clearly appear, nor do we find its result recorded: we must leave it therefore in the same obscurity as the document whose forced signature has just been stated.

The MS. so often quoted next informs us that the Cardinal remained at Southwell, "untill aboute the latter ende of grasse time," when he resolved to remove to Scroby, where then stood a mansion belonging to the archbishopric: but no sooner had he given orders to prepare for that removal than the news spread like wildfire, to the great sorrow of that vicinity; or, as Cavendish describes it, "which was not so muche sorrowe to all his neighbours there aboute Southwell, but it was as joyfull to all the countrey about Scrobie."

On the Sunday before the Cardinal's departure for Scroby, all the knights and other worshipful gentlemen (as they were called in the dialect of that age), of that part of Nottinghamshire, assembled at Southwell to a parting dinner, and to sleep there, so as they might accompany him on his journey through that part of the then extensive forest of Sherwood. But Wolsey being

informed that it was their intention to have a great stag lodged by the way, for the purpose of showing him all the sport they could, felt it prudent to avoid such an exhibition, " not knowinge howe the kinge would take it; being also well assured howe his enemies would much rejoyce to understand that he would take upon him such presumption, whereby they mighte finde occasion to persuade with the kinge, how sumptuous he was, notwithstandinge his adversitie and displeasure, and so to bringe the kinge into perfect ill opinion of him, and thereby breede small hope of reconciliation, but rather to informe the kinge that he soughte a meane to obtaine the favour of the countrey than of him, with diverse suche imaginations, wherein he might rather obteyne displeasure than honor;" and being unwilling also to state these reasons to the gentlemen assembled, as a cause for declining their kind intentions, lest they should take it into their heads that to visit him was not to pay court to the monarch, he contrived a plan which he meant, when once secretly executed, should pass off for a good joke upon his visitors. For this purpose he gave secret directions, on the Sunday evening, to his gentleman usher, to have six or seven horses, besides his own mule, ready for departure by break of day, together with a certain number of persons who were to accompany him to a neighbouring abbey, where he intended to lodge in his way to Scroby; desiring Cavendish also to be ready to ride with him, and

to call him so early, that he might hear mass before he should set off, yet still be on horseback by break of day.

These directions being strictly complied with, the Cardinal set off in due time upon his mule, with his appointed attendants, for the abbey, which was about sixteen miles distant, where he arrived as early as six in the morning, going instantly to bed, whilst his household and all the gentlemen at Southwell were themselves still in their beds, not expecting that he would set off before eight o'clock. At that hour the joke was partly found out; when all the party mounted on horseback, setting off at full gallop in hopes of overtaking him; in which, however, they were disappointed, as well as in their proposed chase of the great stag, which they thus left behind them in the forest; but at dinner, as Cavendish reports, "the matter was laughed at, and so meetly jested onto, that all the matter was well taken."

Hunting, indeed, seems in that vicinity to have been the order of the day, for in the afternoon Wolsey was waited on by several of the Earl of Shrewsbury's gentlemen and game-keepers, with their lord's request that he would indulge himself by hunting in Worksop park; which, as they assured him, was the nearest and best way for him to travel through on his journey, and where he would find plenty of game laid in readiness for him to hunt: but to this polite message the Cardinal replied, that he thanked Lord Shrewsbury

"for his gentlenes, and them for their pains," adding that he was "a man not meete to retaine anie suche pleasure; for such pastime was meete for men of honour, that delighted themselves therein, for whom he sayde it was more convenient than for him. Neverthelesse he could doo no lesse than thinke my Lorde of Shrewsburie to be muche his freind, in whom he found suche gentlenes and courteous offer, and rendered also to him his most lowlye thankes from the verie bottome of his heart; but in no wise could they intreate him to hunt, althoughe the worshipfull men in his companie did muche provoke him thereto; yet he would not consent, desyring them to be contented, saienge that he came not into the countrye to frequent or followe anie suche pleasures or pastimes, but rather to attend to a greater cure that he had in hande, which was both his studye and pleasure."

With this kind of apology he attempted to pacify them for the time; yet when he rode through the park, on the ensuing day, not only Lord Shrewsbury's people, but also the gentry who accompanied him, urged him again to the chase, especially as the deer lay very fair for the sport; but he was not to be persuaded to break his resolution: and therefore he rode through the park with all possible speed, until he came to its verge, when he called the earl's keepers, gave them his best thanks to carry to their master, with a promise shortly to visit him, also ten pounds for

themselves, as their "reward" for conducting him through the park; and then pursued his course for Rufford Abbey, where he dined, pushing on for the abbey at Blythe, where he slept, and reached Scroby on the ensuing day.

At this archiepiscopal residence, Wolsey remained until after Michaelmas, evidently fishing for popularity, in a manner which he had never attempted before: for now we hear of his exercising many deeds of charity, whilst on every Sabbath day, that the weather permitted him, he went to some poor parish church in the vicinity, where he performed the mass, causing one of his attendant chaplains to preach, and then dining humbly at some house in the village, ordering victuals and drink to be supplied to the poor, and practising all such actions as were most likely to gain the affections of the people.

The winter advancing, it became necessary to hasten his journey towards York; therefore, leaving Scroby for Cawood-Castle, Wolsey stopped two nights and a day at St. Oswald's Abbey, where he confirmed the children of the vicinity in the church, from eight in the morning until noon; and then, so intent was he on this holy work, that after a short dinner, he began again a little after one, until at length he became so fatigued as to find it necessary to call for a chair; yet he would not desist, but proceeded until six in the evening, before he could complete the duty, so many applicants were there for this solemnity.

On the ensuing day, whilst travelling towards Cawood, he stopped at every church in his way, confirming nearly one hundred children on that day alone, even before he reached Ferrybridge; where, on an extensive plain, about a quarter of a mile from the town, there assembled upwards of five hundred children, round a great stone cross. The Cardinal immediately alighted, and confirmed them all before he would leave the place, so that he did not arrive at Cawood until a late hour.

Cawood-Castle, or palace, is about seven miles distant from York,

and here he resided for some time, in all the state befitting his high dignity, keeping open house, and receiving the compliments of all the nobility and gentry in the neighbourhood.

Poor as he had described himself to be, he now found means to repair the castle upon a very extensive scale, adding several new buildings to it, and keeping upwards of three hundred workmen daily employed upon it.

As it was generally known that Wolsey was now out of favour with the king, there seem at first to have been some doubts, amongst the principal clergy, how they should behave towards him in their corporate capacity. At length, all the doctors and prebendaries of the cathedral resolved to wait upon him as their chief head, and as the patron and father of their spiritual dignities. For this purpose they repaired in a body to Cawood, most joyfully welcoming him into those parts, and assuring him that it was no small comfort to them to see their head amongst them, who had been so long absent from them; that they were like unto fatherless and comfortless children, for want of his presence; and expressing a hope that they would shortly see him amongst them in his own church, the cathedral of York. Wolsey assured them that to do so was the most especial cause of his coming, that he might be amongst them as a father and a natural brother; but they informed him that his installation must first take place, for by the ancient

laws and customs of that cathedral, even he, who was the head prelate and pastor, could not be permitted to go above the choir door, until that ceremony was performed. Nay, they further informed him, that if he were to die previous to installation, he could not be buried above in the choir, but in the lower part of the church. Wherefore they expressed their strong desire that he should be installed forthwith; at the same time beseeching him that he would not break the laudable customs of that cathedral, "to the which," added they, "we are obliged by oath, at our first admittance, to observe that and divers others, which in our chapter do remain upon record."—"These records," replied the Cardinal, "would I fain see, and then you shall know further of mine advise and mind in this business."

On a day appointed, the great body of the clergy waited upon him with these records, which he examined minutely, and then declared his intention of going through the ceremony of installation upon the next Monday after All Hallows' Tide, directing that due preparation should be made for the same; not, indeed, in such sumptuous manner as had been observed by his predecessors, but with all due solemnity, and with such modest pomp, as might be not unworthy of that ancient clerical establishment.

Whilst things were in a state of preparation, the Cardinal did not fail to pay due attention to

all the members of the church; and upon All Hallows' day, one of the principal officers of the cathedral, and who had the general regulation of the ceremonies at the installation, being at dinner with him at Cawood, the conversation turned upon the order and ceremony to be observed; when the officer stated that the archbishop, on the day of his installation, was to proceed from the chapel of St. James, which stood outside of the city gates, to the Minster on foot, walking upon cloth, which was afterwards to be distributed to the poor. To this Wolsey answered, that although his predecessors had walked upon cloth, yet he intended to go on foot, without any such pomp or glory, and "in the vampes of our hosen." He accordingly gave orders to all his servants to attend the ceremony as humbly dressed as might be, and without any sumptuous apparel; and he then gave due information, that on the ensuing Sunday he would proceed to York, to be there installed, making but one great dinner for all the churchmen at the close, and dining the next day with the mayor, after which he would return to his residence at Cawood.

This determination was no sooner generally known, than the gentry, abbots, and priors, in the vicinity, sent in great store of all provisions; whilst the common people, with whom the Cardinal was now a great favourite, looked forward with eager expectation.

Amongst the various incidents that took place during Wolsey's short abode at Cawood, there was one that deserves particular notice, as marking the unsettled state of society, in those "good old times." He had not been long there, when he became acquainted that there was a very serious dispute between Sir Richard Tempest, Knt. and a Mr. Brian Hastings, then ranking only as an esquire, between whom it was supposed that a duel, or even murder, must ensue, unless some means could be found of bringing them to an accommodation; an affair in which the gentry of the county felt themselves much interested.

The Cardinal instantly took the matter up, writing to them both on the subject; and at length so far succeeded, that each agreed to attend at Cawood on a certain day, and there to hear and fulfil his award, after a due investigation. In consequence of this a day of meeting was appointed, on which they both attended, but each with a great number of friends and followers. Wolsey had received information that this would be the case, and, therefore, he had taken the precaution of requesting, and indeed requiring, a large party of the gentry to come to Cawood on that day, to assist not only in bringing these two disputants to terms of friendship, but also in preserving the peace, which otherwise might be infringed upon by the "deadly feud."

To guard even more cautiously against a breach

of the peace, the Cardinal gave strict orders that no more of the suite of each gentleman than six menial servants should enter the castle, all the rest remaining in the town, or wherever they might choose to repair; and he himself, so anxious was he on the subject, went outside the gates, where he assembled the partizans of both sides, most strictly charging them to preserve the public tranquillity, upon their perils, and to avoid all bragging or quarrelling with each other; after which he ordered both beer and wine to be sent to their quarters in the town, and then returned into the castle.

The time was now about nine in the morning; and as it was his intention to have both the disputants to dine with him, at his own table, he thought it would be best, if possible, to have the matter settled amicably before dinner. Accordingly he sent for them into the chapel; and there, in presence of the gentry whom he had previously invited, he commenced an examination into their causes of quarrel, at the same time pointing out to them the dangers that might possibly ensue from wilfulness and obstinacy, and giving "good and wholesome exhortations."

Notwithstanding this sage and friendly advice, both Tempest and Hastings brought forward many things in very strong language in their defence; and sometimes used very harsh language towards each other, which it required all the skill

of the Cardinal and his friends to qualify; but they did not give up the work of peace-making in despair, the Cardinal, in particular, urging very strong arguments, even until four o'clock in the afternoon, "when my lorde brought them to a finall concorde and peace, concluding a certaine determinde ende betwene them, and so made them frendes: and, as it seemed, they were bothe contented therewith, and very joyous of the same. And then my lorde caused them, after they had shaken hands together, to go arme in arme to dyner; the sight whereof pleased much the beholders, and so went to dyner, althoughe," observes Cavendish with something like simplicity, "it were to late to dyne." We may presume that the party who had waited so long for a meal, which they were in the habit of eating at noon, were not exactly of the same opinion with the gentleman usher, as to the fitness of the time; accordingly they all sat down at the Cardinal's table, when in the course of the repast the reconciled disputants drank to each other with every appearance of friendship and good will.

Dinner over, Wolsey persuaded them to send home their followers, then distributed in the town, and to retain no more than their customary riding attendants; he also kept them at his residence all night, along with his own invited friends, and entertained them with such jollity and good will, that they became his fast friends; which they

manifested afterwards at the preparations for his installation into the archiepiscopal chair.

It may be remarked as a curious fact, that Wolsey, now on the point of being installed in York, had never been at that city, even in his northern progresses. Indeed it was a prophecy of Mother Shipton, esteemed as a witch in those days, that he should see York, but never come at it. Nor does he seem to have been anxious to visit it, preferring his own residence at Cawood, where he is said to have received several persuasions and threatenings to make him conclude the affair of the divorce, without regard to the orders from Rome. On this point, however, he was inflexible; and it is stated by one historian, that not till *then* did the king determine upon his ruin: whilst another says, that "the king all this year dissembled the matter to see what he would do at length, till that he saw his proud heart so highly exalted, that he would be so triumphantly installed without making the king privy—yea, and in manner of disdayne of the king, thought it not mete any longer to suffer him to continue."

How far this is correct, it is now difficult to judge; but we may observe that Wolsey appears not to have been exactly aware of the extent of malice at work against him: for it is a fact that whilst thus endeavouring to gain popularity at York, he was declining rapidly in favour at court; where his enemies, still fearful that his

apparent moderation might tend much to revive the king's confidence towards him, were again busily engaged in plots to ensure his ruin. In this they at length succeeded so far as to excite the strongest irritation against him in the king's breast, who now yielded to their suggestions that the Cardinal should be tried for high treason; but they were not so well pleased with the royal determination that he should return to London, and stand to the trial in his own person; for they still feared his influence with Henry, should the old friends again meet.

To this, however, they dared not make any open objection, and accordingly it was arranged that Sir Walter Welch, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber, together with the Earl of Northumberland, should form the commission for his arrest. The Earl of Northumberland was then residing at his castle in the north, and Sir Walter set off on All Hallows, 1st of November, the day on which, as we have already mentioned, the Cardinal had a party of the York clergy to dine with him at the Castle of Cawood. On that day his chaplains sat at his own board end, and in the course of the dinner, the great archiepiscopal cross, which stood by, fell down, and broke Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Bonner's head, causing the blood to flow plentifully. The Cardinal observing the fall of the cross, and the state of amazement into which it had struck those who

were present, inquired the cause of their apparent extraordinary alarm, when his gentleman usher entered upon a detail of the affairs. Wolsey then asked if blood had been drawn, and being answered in the affirmative, he turned his head aside, repeating in an under tone (malum omen), "a bad omen."

Indeed it seems to have affected him much, according to the superstitions of those times; for he suddenly repeated the after grace, and rising from table, retired to his bed-chamber. Nor had it less effect upon the rest of the company, who all considered it as ominous of misfortune, though they knew not how; but Wolsey afterwards gave his interpretation to Cavendish that the archiepiscopal cross was a type of himself, and that its being thrown down by Dr. Austen, his physician, was emblematic of that person betraying his confidence, as he really did, to the Cardinal's enemies; whilst its falling on Bonner's head arose from that priest holding at the time the office of master of the faculties, and of the spiritual jurisdiction in his archbishopric; as for the blood, he considered as a sign of speedy death, probably alluding in his own mind to a scaffold on Tower-hill, rather than to a quiet demise in his bed.

Sir Walter Welch, in the mean time, proceeded to the castle of the Earl of Northumberland, who readily undertook his share of the commission, ordered a number of the gentlemen of

his household to attend him on a journey, and directed that a long list of the gentry of the vicinity should be summoned also in the king's name to accompany him on a special but secret expedition. Such haste was made in this business that, on the Friday previous to the proposed installation in York minster, which was to have taken place on the Monday, the commissioners arrived at Cawood, whilst the Cardinal in his private apartment, and the household in the hall were at dinner; to the surprise of all, and evidently, as it appeared afterwards, to the great discomfort of Wolsey himself.

The earl no sooner entered the hall than, as Cavendish states, "he set it in order," and then directing the porter to deliver the keys, in the king's name, to one of his servants, the porter stoutly refused, saying that the keys were given in charge to him by his own lord and master, the Cardinal, both upon oath, and by verbal orders, and therefore he would yield them up to no other person.

Some of the Cardinal's gentlemen, who were standing by, now stepped up in order to preserve tranquillity, if possible, and observed to the earl that the porter showed himself to be a good fellow and a faithful servant, speaking like an honest man; "therefore," said they, "give him your charge, and let him keep the keys still." The earl was so satisfied with the remonstrance, that

he said to the porter—"Thou shalt well and truly keep the keys to the use of our sovereign lord the king, and you shall let none pass in nor out of the gates but such as from time to time you shall be commanded by us, being the king's commissioners, during our stay here." This was considered as an oath, for the keys having, in the interim, been taken from the porter by force, they were now redelivered to him by Sir Walter Welch, the other commissioner.

Hitherto, Wolsey was ignorant of the nature of these violent proceedings, as none were allowed to leave the hall; and those sent down by him, to make inquiry, were prevented from returning. At length one of the household contrived to evade the vigilance of the commissioners' men, and to inform the Cardinal of what had taken place below; but Wolsey, at first apparently lost in astonishment, refused to believe it, until it was confirmed by another person. He then resumed his wonted placidity of outward demeanour, and merely observed—"Then I am sorry we have dined, for I fear our officers have not provided fish enough (being a meagre day) for the entertainment of him, with some honourable cheer fitting his high estate and dignity." He then rose from table, and, as if to show how little he was affected by the unexpected circumstance, directed that the cloth should remain as it was, in order to show Lord Northumberland how far

they had proceeded with their dinner. This done, he walked towards the staircase, on which he was met by the earl*, to whom he said, "You are heartily welcome, my lord;" after which they embraced. Wolsey next observed, "If you had loved me, you would have sent me word of your coming, that I might have entertained you with honour. Notwithstanding, you shall have such cheer as I can make you for the present, with a right good will; trusting you will accept thereof in good part, hoping hereafter to see you oftener, when I shall be more able to entertain you."

That Wolsey was sincere in these compliments, and without any alarm on the subject of this unexpected and evidently hostile visit, can scarcely be supposed; he carried it off well, however, and with decent fortitude, for he took Lord Northumberland by the hand and led him to his chamber, followed by all the earl's servants, who were stopped at the door by the gentleman usher, so that the Cardinal and the commissioners were left alone, with the exception of Cavendish, who reports the conversation that took place between them.

The bow or bay windows of the apartments of that day seem to have been the general retiring place for confidential conversation; and at one of these they stationed themselves, but not out of

* This was he who, when Lord Percy, had been prevented from marrying the Lady Anne Boleyn.

hearing of the gentleman usher. Cavendish asserts that Northumberland trembled, but at length said, "I arrest you of high treason!" At this charge the Cardinal "was well nigh astonished," and he paused for some time before he ventured on an answer. At length he demanded "what authority have you to arrest me?" To which Northumberland replied, "I have a commission so to do."—"Show it me," said Wolsey, "that I may see the contents thereof."—"Nay, sir, that you may not!" was the reply. "Then," rejoined the Cardinal, "hold you contented, for I will not obey your arrest: for there hath been, between your ancestors and my predecessors, great contentions and debate; and therefore unless I see your authority I will not obey you!"

Whilst this matter was in debate between the Cardinal and earl, Welch, the other commissioner, was engaged in arresting Dr. Austen, which he did at the door of the Cardinal's chamber, saying to him, "Go in, thou traitor, or I shall make thee!" Alarmed at this hubbub, Cavendish opened the door, when Welch thrust in the doctor, with considerable violence, himself following with as little ceremony. No sooner had Welch entered the Cardinal's chamber than he plucked off his hood, which was of the same stuff as his cloak, and worn as a disguise; he then knelt down to the Cardinal, who said to him calmly, "Come hither, gentleman; rise, and let me speak with

you." Welch having risen from his knees, Wolsey continued—"My lord of Northumberland hath arrested me, but by what authority I know not. If you be privy thereunto, or joined with him therein, I pray you show me!" But Welch replied—"Indeed, my lord, if it please your grace, I pray have me excused; for there are annexed to our commission certain instructions, as you may not see, nor be privy to."

Wolsey now asked, "Why be your instructions such as I may not see, nor be privy to?"—then pausing a moment, he added—"Yet peradventure if I be privy unto them, I may help you the better to perform them; for it is not unknown to you that I have been of counsel in as weighty matters as these are; and I doubt not but I shall do well enough, for my part—prove myself a true man against the expectation of my cruel enemies. I see the matter whereupon it groweth! well! there is no more to do, I trowe. You are of the privy-chamber; your name is Master Welch; I am contented to yield to you, but not to the earl without I see his commission; and also you are a sufficient commissioner in this behalf, being one of the privy-chamber. Therefore put your commission in execution! Spare me not! I will obey you and the king, for I fear not the cruelty of mine enemies, no more than I do the truth of my allegiance; wherein, I take God to witness, I never offended his majesty in word or deed; and therein

I dare stand face to face with any, having a difference without partiality."

The Cardinal now bowed to the commission, when the earl walked up to Cavendish, and ordered him to quit the apartment; but the faithful gentleman-usher, being unwilling to leave his lord alone, and in the hands of his enemies, held his station, and did not move. The earl then repeated to him the order to depart, adding that there was no remedy, he must obey. Cavendish, however, still lingered, and looked towards the Cardinal, as if asking him whether he should obey the order or not; but receiving no encouragement from his master's looks, he retired to another apartment, where many of the gentlemen and household were assembled to hear news, and to whom he repeated what had passed, evidently to their great sorrow.

In the mean time, the Earl of Northumberland called into the chamber, where the Cardinal was, several of his own servants, and of his gentlemen, to five of whom he gave the Cardinal in custody, he and Welch first taking possession of their prisoner's keys. This being done, the commissioners walked through the castle, and saw all things put in order, intending to depart for London on the ensuing day, to make a report of what they had done.

As for Dr. Austen, they determined to send him up to town with all possible speed; and, ac-

cordingly, directing him to be bound to his horse like a traitor, they gave him in charge to a sufficient guard, with orders to lose no time on their journey. Time had passed on rapidly, and it was near night before Austen was sent off, after which the commissioners gave permission for two of the Cardinal's grooms to attend him in his chamber, where he lay all night; but a number of Northumberland's men watched in the chamber also: the castle had guards likewise placed in all directions where an escape might be made, and the gates were so strictly kept, that not an individual could pass them before the next morning.

Early on the following day, Northumberland sent for Cavendish, and commanded him to attend upon the Cardinal; but just as he was leaving the earl's presence, he met the other commissioner, who called him on one side, and told him that the king bore towards him (Cavendish) most special favour, for the love and diligent service that he had invariably shown towards his lord; and he then informed him that it was his majesty's pleasure that he should be placed as the chief of those who were to attend upon the Cardinal; an office which was bestowed upon him, on account of the great confidence and trust which the king reposed on his fidelity. Welch then presented him with a copy of the articles, by which he was to be bound, which Cavendish read, and

now replied, that he was content to obey his majesty's pleasure, and was ready to take the oath necessary for the office.

The oath was next administered by Welch; after which Cavendish repaired to the Cardinal's chamber, whom he describes as "sitting in a chaire, his table being spread, ready for him to go to dinner;" but, as soon as he perceived his usher, "he fell into suche a wofull lamentation, with suche rueful termes and waterie eyes, that it would have caused a flinte hearte to morne with him. And as I could, I with others comforted him; but it would not be."

At last Wolsey said—"Now I lament, that I see this gentleman," alluding to Cavendish, "how faithful, how diligent, and painefull, he hath served me; abandoning his own country, wife, and children, his house and family, his rest and quietness, only to serve me; and now have nothing to reward him for his high merits: and also the sight of him causeth me to call to my remembrance the number of faithful servants that I have here with me, whom I did intend to prefer and advance to the best of my power from time to time, as occasion should serve. But now, alas! I am prevented, and have nothing now to reward them. All is deprived me; and I am left here their miserable, wretched master."

Then addressing himself more particularly to his usher, and calling him by name, he added,

"Howbeit, I am a true man; and you shall never have shame of me for your service."

"Sir," replied Cavendish, "I do nothing mistrust your truth; and for the same I will depose, both before the king and his honourable council; wherefore, sir," (then kneeling upon his knee), "comfort yourself, and be of good cheer; the malice of your ungodly enemies can ne shall not prevail, I doubt not: but coming to your answer, my heart is such, that ye shall clearly acquit yourself as to your commendation and truth, as that I trust it shall be much to your great honour, and restitution to your former estate."

"Yea," rejoined the Cardinal, "if I may come to the answer, I fear no man alive; for he liveth not that shall look on this face," (pointing to his own), "that shall be able to accuse me of any untruth, and that do my enemies know well; which will be an occasion, that they will not suffer me to have indifferent ****, but seek some sinister means to despatch me."

To this Cavendish answered—"Sir, ye need not therein to doubt the king, being so much your good lord, as he hath always showed himself to be in all your troubles."—"With that," as the usher describes it, "up came my lorde's meat, and so we loste our former communication; and I gave my lorde water, and set him downe to dyner, who did eate verie little meate, but very manie times suddenly he would burste out in teares, with the most

sorrowful wordes, that have been heard of any woful creature. And at the laste he fetched a great sighe, and said this text of Scripture in this wise—O! Constantia! martyrum laudabilis! O! Charitas inextinguibilis! O! Patientia invincibilis! quæ licet inter pressuras persequentium visa sit despicabilis, invenietur in laudem, et gloriam, et honorem in tempore tribulationis—and thus passed he forthe his dyner in greate lamentation and heavines, who was fedd more with weeping teares than with any delicate meates, that were there before him. I suppose there was not a drye eye amonge all the gentlemen that were there attending upon him."

The commissioners who arrested the Cardinal seem, upon this occasion, to have treated him very cavalierly, keeping him in entire ignorance of their intentions with regard to his future motions: so that although, as soon as his table was taken away, he had every reason to believe that he would have to set out on his journey, until night at last came on, yet it was not until then that he was informed that his departure must be postponed until the morning, when "by God's grace," as the messenger expressed himself, he should certainly depart. "Amen!" replied the Cardinal, with apparent resignation, "when my Lorde of Northumberland shall be pleased."

The MS., so often quoted here, states, that upon this answer it was concluded that he should re-

main during that night; and the next day being Sunday, he rose at an early hour, and prepared for the journey: but first he went to mass, and that was not over until dinner-time; after which repast, Lord Northumberland directed how all things should be arranged. But night had nearly arrived before all this was settled, when he was informed who and how many were appointed to wait upon him, amongst whom were four of his own servants, in addition to his gentleman usher. These, of his own attendants, were a chaplain, two grooms, and his barber.

On going down out of the great chamber, there being no attendants in readiness in the ante-room, or on the staircase, the Cardinal asked where were all his servants? when he was given to understand that the commissioners had locked them all up in the chapel, under the pretence that they might not interrupt him in passing at his departure! But Wolsey at once refused to go down until he should see his servants. He was then told that he should not be permitted to see them—"Why so?" replied he, "I will not out of this house, but I will see my servants, and take my leave of them before I go any further." The servants also being informed that their master was departing, whilst they were locked up in the chapel, in order to prevent their seeing him, and manifesting their respect towards him, began to lament, and to "grudge, and to make such a rewe-

full noyse," that Northumberland, and his coadjutor Welch, began to fear some tumultuous proceedings. They were therefore released, and suffered to present themselves before the Cardinal in the great chamber, where they knelt down before him, all in tears, and bitterly lamenting his fall and misfortunes.

At first, Wolsey appeared to suffer much during this scene; but after some pause, he gave to them "comfortable wordes, and woorthye praises, for their diligence, honestie, and trewthe, showed to him heretofore; assuring them that what chaunce soever shoulde happen him, he was a verie trewe and faithefull man to his soveraigne lorde: and thus, with a lamentable manner, shaked everie of them by the hande."

But night now approached so rapidly, that longer delay was inexpedient; and, accordingly, he was forced to proceed to the inner court, where the horses were prepared for himself and attendants; there they mounted, and proceeding towards the gate, ready to ride out, the porter had no sooner opened the same, than they saw on the outside a great number of gentlemen and their servants, such as the Earl of Northumberland had appointed to that service, in order to attend and conduct the prisoner as far as Pontefract that night. But these were not the sole attendants at the gate, there being upwards of three thousand people of Cawood and its vicinity there assembled, all of

whom, as soon as the gate was opened so as they could see the Cardinal, rent the air with loud ejaculations of "God save your grace! God save your grace! The foul evil take them that have taken you from us! We pray God that vengeance may light upon them."

With such vociferations the poor people followed the cavalcade throughout the town of Cawood, where the Cardinal had already succeeded in gaining the love both of rich and poor.

It may here be worth noticing, that although the tenor of Wolsey's conduct during his Yorkshire journey evinced a strong desire of gaining popularity, and in a style and manner very different from his former haughty and supercilious bearing, yet throughout the whole account of his proceedings, as given by Cavendish, we find no mention made of any sinister attempts on the part of the Cardinal to contravene the king's conduct towards him; but a heavy charge is brought against him by Hall, who says, that being in his diocese, grudging at his fall, and not remembering the king's kindness shown to him, he wrote to the court of Rome, and to divers other princes, letters in reproach of the king; and as much as in him lay, he stirred them to revenge his cause against his sovereign and his realm. These representations are said to have had such an effect at the court of Rome, that some very opprobrious words were spoken there against Henry, and addressed

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by those in power to Dr. Edward Keene, then the king's orator at that court; and he was further assured, that for the Cardinal's sake, the king should have the worse speed in the affair of the divorce.

All this, if true, could not fail to irritate an irritable monarch; especially when he was told that Wolsey was now speaking fair to the people, to win their hearts; always declaring that he was unjustly treated, and upon false grounds.

That these charges may have been true, cannot well be denied; but public report must have gone beyond the truth, when it was said, that his proposed inthronization at York was to gain more reputation amongst the people, and that he had caused a throne to be erected in the cathedral, of such an height and fashion as was never seen: for the ceremony itself was nothing more than a fulfilment of ecclesiastical forms, and one which was strictly essential, either by proxy or in person, for the proper discharge of archiepiscopal duties. Had Wolsey remained at court, his inthronization by proxy, according to the forms of the church of Rome, would have been sufficient to legalise his exercise of the functions attached to his high station; but to exercise these in person on the spot, without the previous fulfilment of all personal ceremonies, would have been contrary to the rules of the chapter. If then any charge can be made out against the Cardinal upon this score, it must

be a charge of imprudence rather than of ambition; for he must have known that such a ceremony, though it might have passed as matter of course under other circumstances, would now be seized upon as a subject for misrepresentation by his enemies, whilst delay could have no possible inconvenience.

The cavalcade, leaving Cawood, proceeded but slowly; partly owing to the condition of the roads at that season of the year, and partly on account of Wolsey's infirm state of health; and they had ridden some miles, when the Cardinal called Cavendish to approach, asking him if he had acquaintance with any of the gentlemen that rode with them; to which the usher answered in the affirmative, at the same time inquiring what might be his pleasure?

"Marie," replied the Cardinal, "I have left a thing behind me that I would fain have; the which I would most gladly send for."

"If I knew," replied the obsequious attendant, "what it were, I should send one incontinent back again for it."

"Then," said Wolsey, "let the messenger go to my Lord of Northumberland, and desire him to send me the red buckram bag, lying in mine almonry, in my chamber, sealed with my seal."

On this Cavendish immediately applied to Sir Roger Lascelles, Knt., and steward to the Earl of Northumberland, desiring him to let some one of

his servants return to that nobleman for the purpose required. This was instantly complied with, the knight despatching one of his most trusty servants back in all haste to Cawood, "who did so honestlie his message, that he brought the same unto my lorde shortlie after he was in his chamber at the abbey of Pomfret, where he laid all nyghte. In whiche bagge was no other thing inclosed but three shirtes of heare (hair?) which he delivered unto his chappeline and ghostlie father secretly."

During the ride to Pomfret, a distance of twenty-two miles, Wolsey seems to have felt considerable uneasiness as to the ulterior measures of the commissioners, and his own destination, for he put many questions to Cavendish, and was, in fact, even ignorant of where he was to stop that night; a subject on which he inquired if the usher had received any information.

"Marie, sir," replied his attendant, "but to Pomfret."

"Alas!" exclaimed the Cardinal, "shall I go to the castle, and lie there, and die like a beast?"

"Sir," rejoined the other, "I can tell you no more what they intend to do; but, sir, I will enquire of a secret friend of mine, in this company, who is chief of their council."

On this he again addressed Sir Roger Lascelles, desiring him most earnestly to give him some information as to the place of their night's lodging; to which Lascelles replied, that Wolsey should

lodge in the abbey of Pomfret, and in no other place. With this joyful intelligence Cavendish hastened back to his master, who was highly pleased with it.

It was so late when they arrived at Pomfret, that the cavalcade did not set off until towards the evening of the ensuing day: so that it was dark before they reached Doncaster, which they were obliged to enter by torch-light; and, indeed, it appears that Wolsey had requested some delay on this point, in order to avoid any assemblage of the people by day, to manifest their zeal in his cause, being now anxious to avoid every thing that might tend to increase the jealousy of his royal master, by reports of his extreme popularity.

But his caution was vain; for the people expected and waited for him, crying out, "God save your grace! God save your grace! my good Lord Cardinal!" As he proceeded through the town, they ran before him with candles and torches, which induced him to call Cavendish to ride by his side, "to shadowe him from the people;" they still recognised him, however, and loudly lamented his misfortune, cursing his accusers.

In this unexpected, at least undesired pomp, he arrived at the monastery of the Black-friars, where he took up his abode for the night.

Leaving Doncaster, they travelled very slowly, so that it was not until the third day of their journey that they arrived at Sheffield-park, a seat

of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and afterwards one of the prisons of the ill-fated Mary. The residence, at that period, was merely a lodge; but the earl and countess and a train of gentlewomen, with all the gentlemen of the household and servants, stood without the gates to receive and give him welcome.

On his alighting the earl saluted him in the most respectful manner, with all the customary honours of the etiquette of that day, embracing him, and saying,—" My Lord, your Grace is most heartily welcome unto me; and I am glad to see you here in my poor lodge, where I have long desired to see you; and much more gladder if you had come after another sort."

" Ah! my gentle Lord of Shrewsbury," replied the Cardinal, " I heartily thank you; and although I have cause to lament, yet as a faithful heart may, I rejoyce that my chance is to come into the custody of so noble a person, whose approved honour and wisdom have been right well known to all noble estates. And, sir, howsoever my accusers have used their accusations against me, this I know, and so before your Lordship and all the world I do protest, that my demeanour and exceedings have always been both just and loyal towards my sovereign and liege lord, of whose usage in his Grace's affairs, your Lordship hath had right good experience. And according to my truth, so I beseech God to help me."

"I doubt not," replied the earl, "of your truth; therefore, my lord, be of good cheer and fear not; for I am nothing sorry but that I have not wherewith to entertain you according to my good will, and to your honour: but such as I have ye shall be welcome to it, for I will not receive you as a prisoner, but as my good lord and the king's true and faithful subject."

Then turning round towards the countess, his lordship proceeded to say,—"and, sir, here is my wife come to salute you."

To this the Cardinal instantly replied by an act of gallantry, and also a display of condescension that seemed highly agreeable to all parties; for having kissed the countess, cap in hand, and bareheaded, he next saluted, in the same manner, all her gentlewomen; taking afterwards all the earl's servants by the hand, both gentlemen and yeomen.

This ceremony gone through, with all due form, the earl and Cardinal walked into the lodge arm in arm, when Lord Shrewsbury conducted his guest into a superb gallery, at the further end of which was "a goodlie tower with lodginges," where the Cardinal was informed he should have his abode; and in the middle of the gallery there was also "a travas of sarcenet drawn," so that one end of it was reserved for Wolsey, and the other for his noble host.

Considered now in the safe keeping of the Earl of Shrewsbury, the gentlemen and others who had

hitherto attended upon him were withdrawn, the Cardinal making himself as comfortable as he could for eighteen days. To render him so as much as possible, the earl appointed "diverse worthye gentlemen" to attend upon him continually, partly for hospitality, but partly also for safe custody, directing that his guest should be supplied with all he wished for, and ordering that the Cardinal, if he desired it, should be served in his own chamber both at dinner and supper, "as honourably, and with as manie daintie dishes as he had in his owne howse, comonlie being at libertie."

Once every day also, the earl repaired to him to converse, and doubtless to ascertain his security, "sitting upon a bouthe," (perhaps like a modern sofa) "in a greate windowe in the gallerie."

On these occasions Lord Shrewsbury exerted himself with great friendship to cheer up the spirits of his prisoner, yet Wolsey still feared the worst. Cavendish says that in these interviews he would "lament so piteouslie that it wolde make my Lorde of Shrewsbury to be verie heavie for his griefe."

One afternoon, when Wolsey appeared more cast down than ordinarily, "Sir," said the earl, "I have, and do daily receive letters from the king, commanding me to entertain you as one that he highly favoureth and loveth; whereby I do perceive you do lament more than ye have cause to do: and though ye be accused (as I

truste) wrongfully, yet the king can do no less than put you to your trial, the which as more for the satisfying of some persons, than for any mistrust that he hath of your traiterous doings."

"Alas! my lord," replied the fallen favourite, "is it not a piteous case that any man should so wrongfully accuse me to the king, and not to come to my answer before his Grace? For I am well assured, my lord, that there is no man alive that looketh in this face of mine who is able to accuse me. It grieveth me very much that the king should have any such opinion of me, to think that I would be false, or conspire any evil to his person, who may well consider that I have no assured friend in all the world, but only his Grace; so that if I should go about to betray my sovereign lord, and *pryure* in whom is all my trust and confidence, before all other, all men might justly think and say, that I lacked both grace, wit, and discretion. Nay! nay, my lorde, I would rather adventure to shed my heart's blood in his defence, as I am bound, both for my allegiance, and for my safeguard; for he is my staff that supported me, and the wall that defended me against all those my corrupt enemies, and all other, who knows me and my true diligent proceedings much better than any of them. Therefore, to conclude, it is not to be thought that ever I would maliciously or traiterously travail or wish any hurt or damage to his royal person or imperial dignity;

but, as I said before, defend it, with the shedding of my heart's blood: and, if it were but only for mine own defence to preserve my estate and simple life, the which mine enemies do think I do so much esteem, having none other refuge to flie to, for protection and defence, but only under the shadow of his wing. Alas! my lord, I was in good estate now and lived quietly, being right well contented with the same; but mine enemies, who never sleep, but continually study both sleeping and waking to rid me out of their way, perceiving the contentation of my mind, doubted that, if I lived, their malicious and cruel dealing would grow at length to their shame, rebuke, and open slander; and therefore would prevent the same with shedding of my blood. But from God that knoweth the secrets of their hearts, and all others, it cannot be hid, ne yet unrewarded, when he shall see opportunity. And, my good lord, if you would show yourself so much my good freind as to require the king's majesty that my accusers may come before my face in his presence, and there that I may make answer, I doubt not but ye should see me acquit myself of all their malicious accusations, and utterly confound them; for they shall never be able to prove by any due probation that ever I offended the king in thought, word, or deed. Therefore I desire you, and most heartily require your good lordship to be a mean

for me, that I may answer unto my accusations before the king's majesty.

"The case is his; and if their accusations were true, then should it touch him more earnestly: wherefore it were convenient that he should hear it his own self. But I fear me they intend to despatch me rather than I should come before his presence; for they be well assured, and very certain that my truth should vanquish all their accusations and untrue surmises, which is the especial cause that maketh me so earnestly desire to make my answer before the king's majesty.

"The loss of goods, the slander of my name, ne yet all my trouble grieveth me nothing, so much as the loss of the king's favour, and that he should have in me such an opinion, without desert, of untruth, that have with such travail and paine served the king so justly, so painfully, and with so good an heart to his profit and honour at all times.

"And against the truth of my doings their accusations, proved by me unjust, should do me more pleasure and good than the obtaining of much treasure, as I doubt not to do, if the case might be indifferently heard. Now, my good lord, weigh my reasonable request, and let charity and truth move your heart with pity to help me in all this my trouble, wherein ye shall take no manner of rebuke or slander, by the grace of God!"

To this urgent remonstrance, evidently prepared with great pains and skill beforehand, the Earl of Shrewsbury gave a very patient hearing; and, in reply, said—

"I will write to the king in your behalf, declaring to him, by my letters, how ye lament his indignation and displeasure; and also what request ye make for the trial of your truth towards his highness."

A fortnight passed after this conference, during which period Lord Shrewsbury used every means in his power to make his prisoner forget that he was in confinement. He repeatedly requested the Cardinal to kill a hart or a doe in the park; but the latter always refused to partake of any pleasures or amusements, spending the greatest part of his time at prayer, or other acts of devotion.

It was during this residence at Sheffield park, that Wolsey first evinced symptoms of the disease which, apparently, carried him off; and as Cavendish, or rather those who have interpolated his MSS. at a subsequent period of his illness, throws out an obscure hint about poison, it may be pertinent to the subject to relate the circumstance nearly in the writer's own words, but dropping that indelicacy of statement, which, however, was at that day almost as customary in speaking as in writing.

He says, that it came to pass at a certain time as the Cardinal sat at dinner in his own chamber,

having at his board's end the same day, as he customably had every day, a mass of gentlemen and chaplains to keep him company, towards the end of his dinner, when he was come to eating of his fruit, the usher perceived his colour often to change, wherefore he judged him to be unwell. Cavendish states that he then leaned over the table, and speaking softly to him, said, "Sir, me seems your Grace is not well at ease;" to which the Cardinal answered with a loud voice—"Forsooth, no more I am, for I am taken suddenly with a thing about my stomach, that lieth there along as cold as a whetstone, which is no more but wind. Therefore I pray you take up the table and make a short dinner, and that done, resort hither again."

The meat was now carried out of the chamber into the gallery, where, such was the fashion of the time, all those who waited at the table, whether gentle or menial appears here to have made no difference, sat down to their meal on the cold and broken victuals; but Cavendish, who really seems to have been anxious for his master, soon rose up, and as he describes it, forsook his dinner and went into the inner chamber, where he found the Cardinal still sitting very ill at ease, notwithstanding which, he was in general conversation with those who had formed his dinner party. These gentlemen were at first about to retire: but Wolsey requested them to stop; and, as soon as his usher

entered the chamber, desired the latter to go to the "potecarie," and inquire of him if he had any thing that would afford relief in the present case, apparently wishing for a carminative dose. Cavendish then retired; but, instead of applying first to the apothecary, he went to Lord Shrewsbury, and informed him of the Cardinal's illness and of its nature; when the earl instantly ordered the apothecary to be sent for, evidently the apothecary of his own household.

When the medical attendant made his appearance, the earl inquired if he had any thing that would act as a carminative; and the apothecary replied, "that he had such geare."—"Then," quoth the earl, "fetch me some." "Then departed the potecarie, and brought with him a white confection in a faire paper, and shewed it unto my lorde, who commanded me to give him the saie (assay, or tasting) thereof before him, and so I did; and I tooke the same and broughte it to my lord, where *I* also tooke the saie myself, and then delivered it to my lorde, who received it up all at once into his mouth."

This extreme caution on the part of Lord Shrewsbury, in making the apothecary taste the medicine, before it should be administered to the patient, evinces either a strong desire on his part to guard against suspicion of unfair dealing, or else a suspicion that the Cardinal's enemies might be at work even in his own household. Cavendish

having also tasted it before the Cardinal, evinces clearly that the medicine could not have been deleterious. Indeed it seems to have been very efficacious, by his account; for Wolsey, immediately after taking it, found relief to such an extent that he was able to go to afternoon prayers, according to his custom every day after dinner, though he was seized with a bilious attack in the evening.

In the course of the afternoon, Lord Shrewsbury sent for Cavendish, to whom he said that knowing him to be quite in the Cardinal's confidence, and to be worthy of trust, he had to inform him that Wolsey, since his arrival at Sheffield Park, had often requested him to write to the king, to beg that he might be permitted personally to answer all accusations against him, in the face of his enemies. "Now, this day," continued his lordship, "I have received letters from his majesty, by Sir William Kingston, whereby I perceive that the king hath him in good opinion; and, at my request, hath sent for him by the said Sir William." The earl then, with great consideration for the fallen favourite, added—"Therefore now I should have you play your part wisely with him in such sort as he may take it quietly, and in good part; for he is always full of sorrow and much heaviness at my being with him, that I fear he would take it ill, if I bring him tidings thereof: and therein doth he not well, for I assure you that the king is his very good lord, and hath

given me most hearty thanks for his entertainment: therefore prithee go your way to him, and perswade him I may find him in quiet at my coming, for I will not tarry long after you."

To this considerate address, Cavendish replied that he would fulfil his lordship's wishes to the best of his power; but he doubted that when he came to name this Sir William Kingston, the Cardinal would fear some evil, as Kingston was not only Constable of the Tower, but also Captain of the guard, of whom he had four and twenty actually along with him; to which Lord Shrewsbury hastily rejoined—"That is nothing! what if he be Constable of the Tower, and Captain of the guard? He is the fittest man for his wisdom and discretion to be sent about such a business; and, for the guard, it is only to defend him from those that might intend him any ill. Besides that, the guard are, for the most part, such of his old servants as the king hath took into his service to attend him most justly*."

To this, Cavendish merely answered that he

* It is said that Wolsey, who believed in astrology, agreeable to the fashion of the times, was once told by fortune-tellers, that he should have his end at Kingston. This his credulity interpreted to mean the town of Kingston-upon-Thames, which made him always avoid riding through that place, either on his Hampton-Court journeys, or any other specific occasion: but, as the story goes, he saw his error when he found himself a state-prisoner, in custody of Sir William Kingston!

would do what he could, and then went to join the Cardinal, whom he met in the gallery with his staff and beads in his hands, as if at prayer; but Wolsey no sooner saw him, than, as if suspecting evil, he suddenly inquired, "What news?" to which the usher replied, "Forsooth the best that ever you heard, if you can take it well!" "I pray God, it be true then," said Wolsey; when the other informed him that the Earl of Shrewsbury, whom he believed to have the most friendly intentions, had so provided, by his letters to the king, that his majesty had sent for him by Sir William Kingston, with twenty-four of the guard to conduct him to his highness. At the name of Kingston the Cardinal seemed thunderstruck, without power to say more than repeat his name with a deep sigh, striking his thigh at the same time, as if with an expression of the certainty of downfall, perhaps of the loss of life.

That Henry's determination was, however, even then so desperate, is not certain; at least Cavendish, whether speaking merely from his own wishes, or fully believing Lord Shrewsbury's favourable interpretation of the affair, seems anxious to impress upon his master's mind that any cause of alarm was unfounded. His own answer, as he states it himself, was—"May it please your grace, I would you would take all things well; it would be much better for you. Content yourself for God's sake, and think that God and your good

friends have wrought for you according to your own desires; and, as I conceive, you have much more cause to rejoice than to lament or mistrust the matter; for I assure you that your friends are more afraid of you than you need be of them. His majesty, to show his love to you, hath sent Master Kingston to honour you, with as much honour as is your grace's due, and to convey you in such easy journeys as is fitting for you, and you shall command him to do; and that you shall have your request. Therefore I humbly entreat you to imprint this my persuasion in your highness' discretion and to be of good cheer; wherewith you shall comfort yourself, and give your friends and poor servants great comfort and content."

To all this flattering statement of the honest usher, Wolsey appears to have paid but little attention, for his answer was very brief—"Well! I perceive more than you can imagine, or do know." Soon after which the Earl of Shrewsbury came in to repeat and to confirm what Cavendish had so fully stated: and the Cardinal appeared silently to acquiesce in their opinions, thanking the earl for his great love, and desiring that Kingston might be introduced. Sir William entered the apartment presently, knelt to the Cardinal, and saluted him in the royal behalf; when Wolsey, bare-headed to the king's representative, offered to raise him; but the knight still preserving his

posture of obeisance, the broken-hearted favourite, with a bitterness of anguish which he could not repress, said to him, "Master Kingston! I pray you stand up, and leave off your kneeling to me, for I am a wretch replete with misery, not esteeming myself but as a meer object utterly cast away; but without desert, God he knows: therefore, good Master Kingston, stand up!"

Sir William rising up, replied—"The king's majesty hath him commended unto you." "I thank his highness," said Wolsey; "I hope he is in good health." "Yea," was the answer, "and he hath him commended unto you; and commanded me to bid you be of good cheer, for he beareth you as much good will as ever he did; and whereas report hath been made unto him that you should commit against his majesty certain heinous crimes which he thinketh not to be, but yet he for ministration of justice, in such cases requisite, could do no less than send for you that you might have your trial, mistrusting nothing your truth and wisdom, but that you shall be able to acquit yourself of all complaints and accusations extended against you: and you may take your journey to him at your pleasure, commanding me to attend you."

This speech was so fully in unison with the previous reports to the Cardinal, that his spirits appeared to revive a little, and he replied to his new visitor—"Master Kingston, I thank you for

your good news; and, sir, hereof assure yourself, if I were as lusty and able as ever I was to ride, I would go with you, post: but alas! I am a diseased man, having a flux *(at which time it was apparent that he had poisoned himself)*, as hath made me very weak; but the comfortable news you bring is of purpose, I doubt, to bring me into a fool's paradise, for I know what is provided for me! Notwithstanding, I thank you for your good will, and pains taking about me: and I shall with speed make ready to ride with you."

He then gave orders to Cavendish to have all things in readiness for departure on the morrow; but it is strange to say that the suspicion thrown out by the usher, in regard to poison, does not seem to have been taken up in any way as to the administration of antidotes, nor does the supposition appear to rest upon any rational foundation; especially as it cannot be imagined that a man determined on self-destruction would have had recourse to a slow poison, thus ensuring to himself a lingering death with days and nights of torture, both bodily and mental. Indeed from Cavendish's own report of his illness that night after retiring to bed, we may rather suspect that his complaint was similar to the modern *cholera morbus*, which the physicians seemed to know very little about, making great use of the word "adustine," and giving it as their opinion that he had but four or five days to live.

It must be confessed, however, that the obstinate carelessness of the Cardinal in regard to his health, and his disregard to the opinions of the physicians, may justify the supposition, that in a kind of despair, he now placed no value upon life; for he would have set off with Sir William the next morning, notwithstanding his nocturnal sufferings, had not Lord Shrewsbury strongly urged him to the contrary.

But on the day following he refused to wait any longer, setting off with Sir William and the guard; most of whom, having been his own old servants, could not refrain from weeping at seeing their old master thus fallen from his high estate. Wolsey appears to have been sensible of their kindness, for he took them severally by the hand, riding sometimes with one, sometimes with another, in the course of the day's journey, which ended at Hardwick Hall, another seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, afterwards famous in the history of the unhappy Mary; but previous to her confinement at Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire: for this, though not many miles distant from the other, was in Nottinghamshire, between Mansfield and Annesley Woodhouse, but now in decay, and little known.

The second day's journey brought them to Nottingham; and on the third they proceeded for the abbey at Leicester: but on that day Wolsey was so ill, that he had nearly fallen from his horse, and

it was with great difficulty that at a late hour they were able to reach the abbey*. Information of his approach had preceded him, so that on his arrival the abbot, attended by all his monks, was ready to receive him at the gate, amidst a blaze of lighted torches; each endeavouring to salute him with the most solemn marks of reverence, and to hail his coming with the utmost demonstrations of honour and respect.

On reaching the gate, the fallen Cardinal exclaimed, "Father Abbot! I am come to lay my bones amongst you;" an expression that certainly implied a consciousness of approaching death, though it by no means justifies the charge of intended self-destruction. Feeling himself too ill to

* This abbey was so rich, and on such an extensive scale, that the arrival of Wolsey, with his small party, was a matter of little import, in regard to reception. Throsby, in his History of Leicester, says that it supported almost the whole poor of Leicester and its vicinity; for which it was well prepared, with a revenue of £1062 per annum. It was, besides, on all pressing occasions, subsidiary to the king, and hospitable to travellers, who were both fed and lodged there on their journeys. It had repeatedly been a house of reception for various kings on their northern journeys; but its greatest boast on that head was when Richard II. and his queen, with their retinue, amongst whom were the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, Archbishop of Canterbury, and numerous other great personages, were entertained and lodged there in the most sumptuous style of that period. The abbey was afterwards granted to Cavendish, from whom it passed into various hands, but was burnt during the civil wars.

walk any distance, he rode on his mule across the court, until he came to the door which led to his apartments; but, on his alighting, he was so weak as to require the assistance of Sir William Kingston in ascending the staircase, who observed afterwards to Cavendish, that he had never felt so heavy a burden in all his life.

This was on Saturday evening; and the Cardinal having instantly retired to rest, he remained in bed until the Monday ensuing; when, about eight o'clock in the morning, as his faithful gentleman-usher stood by his bed-side, with the windows of the apartment close shut, but wax-lights burning upon the cup-board, the latter though he perceived him drawing towards death, as he describes it. The Cardinal noticing Cavendish's shadow upon the bed-side, asked "Who is there?"

"Sir," replied his attendant, "'tis I."—"How do you do?" rejoined the dying man. "Well, sir," said the usher, "if I might see your grace well."

After a pause the Cardinal inquired the hour, and when it was told him he repeated several times, "Eight o'clock! eight o'clock! Nay, that cannot be, for at eight of the clock you shall see your master's time draw near that I must depart this world!"

In the apartment, at this period, was Dr. Palmer, whom Cavendish describes as "a worthy gentleman;" and he desired the latter to ask the

Cardinal if he would be shriven, to make him ready for God, whatever chanced to fall out. This Cavendish did; but he adds, "He was very angry with me, and asked me what I had to doe to aske him such a question? till, at the last, Master Doctor took my part, and talked with him in Latin, and pacified him."

The remainder of this melancholy scene is so minutely told by Cavendish, that we shall relate it nearly in his own words, as the last memorial of an unhappy man, who had acted so conspicuous a part, both in foreign and domestic politics, clad in all papal power short of the popedom, and the ruler of England, as he may be called, whilst he was the royal favourite.

Soon after dinner, on that day, Sir William Kingston sent for Cavendish, saying, "Sir, the king hath sent unto me letters by Mr. Vincent, our old companion, who hath been in trouble in the Tower, for money that my lord should have at his departure; a great part of which money cannot be found: wherefore the king, at Master Vincent's request, for the declaration of the truth, hath sent him hither with his grace's letters, that I should examine my lord, and have your counsel therein, that he may take it well and in good part: and this is the cause of my sending for you, therefore I desire your counsel therein, for acquittal of this poor gentleman, Master Vincent."

To this Cavendish replied—"Sir, according to

my duty you shall; and by my advice you shall resort unto him in your own person to visit him, and in communication break the matter unto him; and if he will not tell you the truth therein, then may you certify the king thereof: but in any case name not, nor speak of, my fellow Vincent. Also, I would not have you protract the time; for he is very sick, and I fear that he will not live past a day or two!" On this reply, which shows, indeed, how Wolsey was fallen, even in the respectful deference due by his own servants, Kingston went into the sick man's chamber, and demanded the money, asserting that the Earl of Northumberland had found a book at Cawood-Castle, proving that the Cardinal had very recently borrowed £1000, and yet there was not one penny now to be found. He further informed the Cardinal, that Northumberland had sent information to that effect to the king, in consequence of which his majesty had now written to him (Kingston) to inquire what was become of this money, "for it were pitty," added he, "that it should bee holden from you both. Therefore, I require you, in the king's name, to tell me the truth, that I may make a just report thereof to his majesty of your answer."

To this demand Wolsey replied, "Oh! good Lord, how much doth it grieve me that the king should think any such thing in me, that I should deceive him of one penny, seeing that I have nothing, nor ever had, God be my judge, that I ever

esteemed so much mine owne as his majesty's; having but the bare use of it during my life, and after my death to leave it wholly to him; wherein his majesty hath prevented me. But for this money that you demand of me, I assure you it is none of my own, for I borrowed it of divers of my friends to bury me, and to bestow amongst my servants, who have taken great pains about me: notwithstanding, if it be your pleasure to know, I must be content; yet I beseech his majesty to see it satisfied, for the discharge of my conscience, to them that I owed it to."—"Who be they?" asked his majesty's representative. "That shall I tell you," promptly replied the Cardinal. "I borrowed two hundred pounds of John Allen, of London; the same sum of Sir Richard Gresham; two hundred pounds of the master of the Savoy; another two hundred of Dr. Higden, dean of my college; two hundred of the treasurer of the church; and two hundred of Master Ellis, my chaplain; and another two hundred pound of a priest. I hope the king will restore it again, forasmuch as it is none of mine."

A close game seems now to have been played between the Constable of the Tower and the dying Cardinal; for the former having said, "Sir, there is no doubt in the king, whom you need not distrust:" added, "but, sir, I pray you, *where is the money?*"—"I will not conceal it, I warrant

you," replied Wolsey; "but I will declare it unto you before I die, by the grace of God. Have a little patience with me, I pray you, for the money is safe enough in an honest man's hands, who will not keep one penny thereof from the king."

Thus foiled for the time, Kingston retired, as the Cardinal appeared very weak; yet, ill as he was, when Cavendish, the next morning, about four o'clock, asked him how he did? "Well," replied Wolsey, "if I had any meat. I pray give me some." The usher having informed him that there was none ready, he rebuked him for not having some always in readiness, that he might take it when his stomach required it, adding, "I pray you get some ready for me; for I mean to make myself strong to-day, to the intent I may go to confession, and make me ready for God!" To this the usher replied, "I will call up the cooks to prepare some meat; and also I will call Master Palmer, that he may discourse with you till your meat be ready."—"With a good will," was the Cardinal's answer; and Palmer was accordingly sent to him.

Cavendish next went to inform Kingston that his master was very sick, and not like to live; but Kingston accused him of making his lord believe that he was worse than in reality: he went, however, to Wolsey's apartment; but the latter, having eaten some chicken broth, was then en-

gaged in confession, which lasted for an hour. Confession * over, Kingston entered the chamber, bade good morrow to his prisoner, and inquired after his health; to which Wolsey replied—"Sir, I watch but God's pleasure to render up my poor soul to him. I pray you have me heartily commended unto his royal majesty, and beseech him on my behalf to call to his princely remembrance all matters that have been between us from the beginning and the progress; and especially between the good Queen Katharine and him: and then shall his grace's conscience know whether I have offended him or not. He is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of his kingdom. I do assure you I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail; and, Master Kingston, had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would

* It is curious to observe how even in the moment of danger, and the expectation of certain death, the mind of the Cardinal was impressed with the trifling points of his faith; for no sooner had he taken the refreshment, than he asked what it was made of, and when informed by Cavendish that it was made of a *chicken*—"Why," said the dying man, "it is fasting day, being St. Andrew's even."—"What though it be," replied the less scrupulous doctor, "ye be excused by reason of your sickness."—"Yea," said Wolsey, "what though? I will eat no more!"

not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my diligent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince. Therefore let me advise you, if you be one of the privy council, as by your wisdom you are fit, take heed what you put in the king's head, for you can never put it out again."

In this last observation, Wolsey evidently had reference to his own case, in urging the king to religious doubts respecting his marriage with Katharine, in order to bring about a continental match, which would have strengthened his own interest in regard to the papal succession; a measure, however, in which he was disappointed, as the king, on this plea, founded his hopes of marriage with the Lady Anne Boleyn—a match which the Cardinal foresaw would give new strength to the rising principle of reformation in the church. That such were his reflections is, indeed, evident from what he next said—" And I desire you further to request his grace, in God's name, that he have a vigilant eye to suppress the hellish *Lutherans*, that they increase not through his great negligence, in such a sort as he be compelled to take up arms to subdue them; as the King of Bohemia was, whose Commons being infected with Wickliffe heresies, the king was enforced to take that course. Let him consider the story of King Richard II. son of his progenitor, who lived in

the time of Wickliffe's seditions and heresies! Did not the Commons, I pray you, in his time rise against the nobility and chief governors of this realm, and at the last some of them were put to death, without justice or mercy; and, under pretence of having all things common, did they not fall to spoiling and robbing, and at last took the king's person, and carried him about the city, making him obedient to their proclamations?"

With an energy beyond his apparent strength, he still went on, saying, "Did not the traiterous heretics, Sir John Oldcastle and Lord Cobham, pitch a field with heretics against King Henry IV. where the king was in person, and fought against them, to whom God gave the victory? Alas! if these be not plain precedents, and sufficient persuasion to admonish a prince, then God will take away from us our prudent rulers, and leave us to the hands of our enemies; and then will ensue mischief upon mischief, inconveniences, barrenness, and scarcity, for want of good orders in the commonwealth; from which God of his tender mercy defend us!"

He paused—and then with difficulty added, "Master Kingston, farewell! I wish all things may have good success! my time draws on; I may not tarry with you. I pray you remember my words!"

The unhappy Cardinal was right in his conjecture; for, as Cavendish says,—"now began

the time to draw neare; for hee drew his speech at length, and his tongue began to faile him; his eyes perfectly set in his head, his sight failed him. Then wee began to put him in mind of Christ's Passion; and caused the yeoman of the guard to stand by privately to see him dye, and beare witnesse of his words and his departure, who heard all his communications. And then presentlie the clocke strooke eight, at which time he gave up the ghost, and thus departed this life, aged fifty-nine years and eight months, one of us looking upon another, supposing he prophesied of his departure. We sent for the abbot of the house to annoint him, who speedily came as hee was ending his life, who said certaine praiers before that the life was out of his bodie *."

* Storer, his poetical biographer in 1599, thus speaks of this last scene, making the Cardinal say,—

"All as my chrysom, so my winding sheete
None joy'de my birth, none mourn'd my death to see:
The short parenthesis of life was sweet,
But short; what was before unknowne to me,
And what must follow is the Lord's decree.
The period of my glory is exprest;
Now of my death; and then my muse take rest."

The poet then attempts to show that Wolsey was really, on his downfall, more actuated by real contrition than by affectation, in the modesty which he displayed in regard to his proposed installation at York, and in his general disregard of the splendour of human grandeur, for some time before his death. He makes the expiring Cardinal to say,—

The wishes of his enemies were now accomplished. The course of nature, or his own error, if it be true that he really took poison, had now done more for them than their warmest hopes had dared to look forward to, if his fate had depended upon the king.

With respect to his remains, neither friends nor enemies seemed to pay much attention. Sir William Kingston indeed sent off one of the guard express to court with the news; but he appeared to feel himself perfectly at liberty as to the disposal of the body, which he directed to be prepared for interment, on the ensuing day, after holding a consultation with the father abbot of the monastery. It was feared, however, that reports might spread that he was still alive; and therefore it was thought necessary that he

"I did not mean with predecessor's pride,
To walke in cloth, as custome did require;
More fit that cloth were hung on either side
In mourning wise, or make the poor attire:
More fit the dirige of a mournful quire
In dull sad notes all sorrowes to exceede,
For him in whom the prince's love is dead.

"I am the tombe where that affection lies,
That was the closet where it living kept:
Yet wise men say, affection never dies.—
No! but it turnes; and when it long hath slept,
Looks heavy, like the eie that long hath wept.
Oh! could it die, that were a restfull state;
But living, it converts to deadly hate."

should be seen by the mayor and corporation of Leicester, who arrived at the monastery after he had been deposited in the coffin, into which also were put his hair shirt with his "over shirt" of fine holland, together with all the ornaments characteristic of his archiepiscopal dignity, such as the mitre, cross, ring, and pall. In this state he was exposed, barefaced, to the view of all who chose to see him, until three o'clock in the afternoon, when the funeral service was performed by the abbot with every solemnity, the corpse, in the mean while, being set in the Lady's Chapel, surrounded by numerous wax tapers, and attended by a number of poor men bearing torches. Those persons remained with the corpse through the night, during which the requiem was sung by the canons, also dirges, and orisons at four in the morning, at which Sir William Kingston, attended by all the late Cardinal's servants, entered the church to perform certain ceremonies, which, as Cavendish states, were then usual at the interment of bishops. Part of these ceremonies was the celebration of high mass, when the abbot and others made offerings; and when all was ended, a grave having already been made in the centre of the Lady's Chapel, the body was there interred on St. Andrew's day, 30th of November, 1530, at six in the morning *.

* Throsby states, in his History of the Abbey, that the reason of his speedy interment was the very putrid and of-

No sooner was the unhappy Wolsey laid in the earth than his friends and followers set off for

fensive state of the corpse. He further states that it was placed in a plain wooden shell, but with the sacerdotal ornaments already mentioned, from whence it has long been a received opinion in Leicester that there was buried with him a considerable quantity of riches, which has induced many people, at various times, to dig for the supposed treasure. But the facts already recorded of Henry's demands respecting concealed treasure, previous to his death, demonstrate sufficiently the absurdity of this supposition, even if common sense did not militate against it.

Curiosity may induce many to seek for his grave, we therefore quote from Throsby a statement by the Rev. Mr. Carte, who says,—"As to the great Cardinal Wolsey's sepulchre, the best account which I have met with is from one Mr. John Hasloe, whose grandfather, Arthur Barefoot, was gardener to the Countess of Devonshire, who lived in the abbey before the civil war. He tells me that the church stood, part of it, in what is now a little garden, at the east end of it, in the orchard (which was formerly called the new garden), where his grandfather, with others digging, found several stone coffins, the cavities of which did not lie uppermost, but were inverted over the bodies. That one of these was taken up, about six feet, one inch, long, and four wide, and a foot deep: that it seemed very sound at first, but when it was exposed to the air, soon mouldered away: that he observed that all of them had a round hole about the middle of them near five inches diameter, but for what end he could not tell. That among them he discovered Cardinal Wolsey's (Mr. Hasloe forgets by what means he knew it), which the countess would not suffer to be stirred, but ordered it to be covered again."—

It is scarcely credible, however, that the conjecture about Wolsey can be correct, unless indeed after the coffin was put

court, and on their arrival were presented to the king, who sent for Cavendish on the following day to an interview, which we shall describe nearly in his own words.

He says, that he was conducted to the king, who was in a night-gown of Rochett velvet, furred with sables, before whom he knelt for the space of an hour, during which time Henry was particularly inquisitive in regard to his old friend, saying that he would rather than twenty thousand pounds he had lived: but he did not forget also to ask about the fifteen hundred pounds respecting which Sir William Kingston had questioned the Cardinal on the day of his death. "I think I can perfectly tell your Grace," said the usher, "where it is, and who hath it." At this Henry pricked up his ears, and, appearing to know his man, said, "I pray you tell me, and you shall not be unrewarded." On which Master Cavendish, apparently forgetful of his duty to, and the wishes of his deceased master, at once said,—"Sir, after the departure of Master Vincent from my lord at

into the ground a stone coffin was inverted over it. It may be urged that the sacerdotal ornaments *buried* with the corpse may have led to the recognition; but if we read attentively Cavendish's account, as we have stated it, there is no proof that these, though carried in procession, were *interred* with the body. The *burial service* was read in the evening, but the body was not *interred* until the morning; and therefore he may be said to have been *buried with them*, though they were not actually deposited in his grave.

Scroby, who had the custody thereof, leaving it with my lord in divers bags, he delivered it to a certain priest safely to be kept to his use." "Is this true?" exclaimed the monarch.—"Yea!" said the usher, "without doubt, the priest will not deny it before me, for I was at the delivery thereof, who hath gotten divers other rich ornaments, which are not registered in the book of my lord's inventory or other writings, whereby any man is able to charge him therewith by myself."

"Then," replied his majesty, "let me alone for keeping this secret between me and you. Howbeit three may keep counsel if two be away; and if I knew my cap were privy to my counsel, I would cast it into the fire and burn it: and for your honesty and truth, you shall be our servant in our chamber, as you were with your master. Therefore go your ways to Sir John Gage, our vice-chamberlain, to whom we have spoken already to admit you our servant in our chamber; and then go to the Lord of Norfolk, and he shall pay you your whole year's wages, which is ten pounds —is it not so?"

"Yes, forsooth, and if it please your Grace," said the accommodating gentleman usher.—"And withall," added his majesty, "you shall receive a reward from the Duke of Norfolk!"

As soon as Cavendish left the royal presence he went to the proper office to take the oaths, when he chanced to meet Sir William Kingston just

come from the council chamber, who commanded him in the name of the council to appear before them immediately, as he was sent to seek him for that purpose. Kingston also said to him,—" In any wise, take good heed of what you say, for ye shall be examined of certain wordes spoken by my lorde, your master, at his departure, which ye know well; and if ye tell them the truth," added he, " what he said, ye shall undo yourself, for in any wise they may not know of it. Therefore be circumspect what answer ye make to their demands."

" Why," asked Cavendish, " how have you done therein yourself?"

" Marry," said Kingston, " I have utterly denied that I heard any such words; and he that opened the matter first is fled for fear, which was the yeoman of the guard that rode in post from Leicester. Therefore go your ways," added he, " God send you good speed; and when you have done, come to me into the chamber of presence, where I will tarry to see how you speed, and to knowe how you have done with the king." Here their conversation closed, and Cavendish went directly to the council chamber door, where his arrival was no sooner known than he was called before the council; when the Duke of Norfolk accosted him very civilly, bidding him welcome to the court, and then said,—" My lords, this gentleman hath served the Cardinal, his master, like an

honest true man; therefore I doubt not but of such questioning as ye shall demand of him he will make a just and true answer. I dare be his surety. How say you, sir!" addressing himself to Cavendish,—"It is reported that your master spake such words, and such even at his departure from his life, the truth whereof I doubt not but ye know; and, as ye know, I pray you report, and fear no man. It shall not need to swear you; therefore go to: how say you, is this true that is reported?"

"Forsooth, my lord," said the usher, "I was so diligent about him, attending the preservation of his life, that I marked not every word that he spake; and as for my own part, I have heard him talk many idle words, as men do in such extremities, the which I do not now remember. If it please you to call Mr. Kingston before your lordships, he will not let to tell you the truth."

"Marry, so we have done already," replied one of the council, "who hath been here before us; and hath denied that ever your master spake any such words at the time of his death, or at any time before."

"Forsooth, my lords," rejoined Cavendish, "then can I say no more; for if he heard them not, I could not hear them; for he heard as much as I, and I as much as he. Therefore, my lords, it were folly to say a thing of untruth, which I am not able to justify."

"Lo!" exclaimed the Duke of Norfolk, "I told you before that he was a true man, and would tell the truth. Go your ways! ye be discharged; and come to my chamber soon, for I must talk with you."

Cavendish, glad to escape from such an ordeal, where every word he said might have been misinterpreted and misrepresented, most humbly thanked their lordships for his dismissal, and retired as speedily as possible to the presence chamber to seek Sir William Kingston, whom he found standing in conversation with an ancient gentleman, one Mr. Ratcliffe, gentleman usher of the king's privy chamber. As soon as they met, Sir William inquired as to what had taken place, when the other informed him that he had satisfied their lordships' minds with his answer. Sir William then asked him how he had sped with the king, to which the reply was a detail of all the conversation, and of his majesty's benevolence and princely liberality towards him, and how he commanded him to go to the Duke of Norfolk; and whilst they were thus discoursing, the duke came from the council into the presence chamber, when a conversation ensued which strongly marks the customary style of intercourse at Henry's court.

Cavendish states that as soon as the duke espied him, he came into the window where he stood with Kingston and Ratcliffe; and when he told the duke the king's pleasure, both these gentle-

men made intercession with his grace to be good lord to him.

"Nay," said the duke, "I will be better unto him than he weeneth, for if I could have spoken with him or ever he came to the king, I would have had him to my service, and, the king excepted, he should have done no man service in all England but me: and look," added his Grace, "what I may do for you I will do it with all my heart."

"Sir," replied the usher, "then my desire is that it would please your Grace to move the king to be so much my good lord as to give me one of the carts and horse that brought my stuff, with my lord's, which is now in the town, to carry it home into my country."

"Yea! marry will I," said the duke, and so went into the king's chamber.

Cavendish still remained in conversation with Kingston, waiting the duke's return, when Mr. Ratcliffe said, "I will go in and help my Lord of Norfolk in your suite with the king:" but the favour was granted without further interference; for the duke that instant came out, and assured Cavendish that the king was his singular good and gracious lord, and had not only granted his request but had gone much beyond it, ordering that he should have not only ten pounds for his wages, but also twenty pounds for his "reward;" to which were to be added a cart, and six of the

best horses which he could choose out of those which had belonged to his deceased master, together with five marks to pay the expense of his journey homewards.——

Thus terminated the power and ambition of WOLSEY, and the malice of his enemies, making way for a milder and more liberal system, both in Politics and Religion; under which auspices freedom of thought and action became the characteristics of the Reformation, affording greater stability to the crown, checking yet ameliorating the influence of the aristocracy, and forming a constitutional basis for

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